

# THE MUGHALS AND THE RĀJPUTS 1605–1659 A.D.

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF

Doctor of Philosophy

IN

HISTORY

By

Syed Inayet Ali Zaidi

Under the Supervision of

Mr. Iqtidar Alam Khan

CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY

Department of History

Aligarh Muslim University Aligarh

1982

CONTENTS

## PREFACE

In this thesis I have tried to evince the position of the Rājputs as a group in the Mughal hierarchy. Akbar was the first Mughal Emperor who recruited the Rājput chiefs in his service. They enjoyed high position under Akbar. But the debate among the modern historians about the deterioration in the status of the Rājput nobility under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān attracted me to examine this problem thoroughly. I have taken into account the Rājput chiefs of whole of the Mughal Empire. It helps me to see their position in the context of other sections of the Mughal nobility. Besides, I have strived to show the status enjoyed by the different Rājput clans and individual chiefs within the Rājput nobility. I have worked out the factors responsible for the fluctuations in the fortunes of the different Rājput clans and individuals. However, wherever possible, the subsequent information has been used to perceive the Mughal-Rājput polity more clearly.

I would like to thank my teachers, colleagues and friends without whom it would have been impossible for me to complete this dissertation in this shape.

It is undoubtedly true that without the supervision of Mr Iqtidar Alam Khan, it was not an easy task for me to finish it. Nevertheless, if there is any error in this dissertation, I am solely responsible for it.

I am very grateful to Professor Irfan Habib who provided me with valuable suggestions regarding some problems whenever I met him. I am also grateful to Professor M. Athar Ali to clear my conceptions on the relations of the Mughal Emperors with their nobility

I was also benefited by the knowledge of my colleagues and friends Drs. S.P. Gupta, I.A. Zilli, Iqbal Husain and Afzal Husain. I am indebted to my friend Miss Shireen Moosvi for helping me in calculating the mansabs and their interpretations. I ought to be beholden to Cartographers Messrs Aftab Aziz and Faiz Habib who took keen interest in drawing the maps.

I am also grateful to Mr M.L. Budhwar, Professor Ziaul Hasan Farooqi, Professor M. Azhar Ansari, Professor Mushirul Hasan, Drs. Aminuddin, S.N. Sinha, S. Jamaluddin and Sunita Zaidi for encouraging me to complete my thesis.

I am beholden to the U.G.C. for awarding me the Teacher Fellowship which enabled me to complete this work. I am also grateful to the authorities and staff of the research Library, Centre of Advanced Study in History, Aligarh; Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh; Zakir Husain Library, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi; Anoop Sanskrit Library, Bikaner; State Archives of Rajasthan, Bikaner, and Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna.

Lastly, it is my pleasure to thank Mr A.A. Zaidi who typed my thesis very carefully.

S. Inayat Ali Zaidi

S. Inayat Ali Zaidi

## ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations have been generally used in the tables and the appendices only.

| | |
|---|---|
| A.N. | Akbar Nāma |
| Āīn | Āīn-i Akbarī |
| Bernier | Travels in the Mogul Empire |
| D.V. | Dalpat Vilās |
| D.K. | Dayāl Das-re Khyāt |
| G. Table | Geneological Table of the Kachawāha Clan |
| I.J. or Iqbāl | Iqbāl Nāma-i Jahāngīrī |
| J.V. | Jaipur ki Vanshāveli |
| Kambu | 'Amal-i Sālih |
| K.T. | Khulāsat-ut Tawārīkh |
| Lāhorī | Bādshāh Nāma |
| M.P.-re Vigat | Mārwār-ra-Pargana-re-Vigat |
| Māsum | Ta'rīkh-i Shāh Shujāī |
| M.K. | Muhta Nainsi-re Khyāt |
| M.T. | Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh |
| M.R. | Ma'āsir-i Rahīmī |
| M.L. | Muntakhab-ul Lubāb |
| M.U. | Ma'āsir-ul Umarā' |
| M.J. | Ma'āsir-i Jahāngīrī |
| M.A. | Ma'āsir-i 'Ālamgīrī |
| T.Alfī | Ta'rīkh-i Alfī |
| T.D. | Ta'rīkh-i Dilkusha |
| Tod | Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan |
| T.U. | Tazkirat-ul Umarā' |
| T.J. | Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī |
| V.V. | Vīr Vinod |
| Wāris | Bādshāh Nāma |
| Waqāī Ajmēr | Waqāī Sarkār Ranthambor wa Ajmēr |
| Z.K. | Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn |

# Chapter I

## THE RĀJPUTS AND THE MUGHAL EMPIRE: THE ANTECEDENTS UNDER AKBAR

Emperor Akbar realising the potentialities of local zamīndārs absorbed them in the Mughal hierarchy. Among these zamīndārs, Rājputs occupied an important place. By this time, they had established a number of principalities in large regions, while elsewhere they formed a dominant agrarian class. In their regions, they held strong forts for their defence. One of the reasons which prompted Akbar to conciliate with these local zamīndārs is explained by ʿĀrif Qandhārī, historian of Akbar's early reign. According to him, there were some two or three hundred rājas (rāja-i zamīndār, ruling chiefs) who possessed very strong forts. ʿĀrif Qandhārī says that since each fort would have taken one or half year to conquer, it was not possible for an Emperor of Hindūstān to conquer all the forts of rājas by force; it was thought better by Akbar to conciliate them. This was all the more advantageous, says ʿĀrif Qandhārī, since the Rajputs had determined to be sincere and loyal to the Emperor.[1] These chiefs played a considerable

---

1. Tārīkh-i Akbarī, pp.47-48.

role in extending his authority. Akbar rewarded them by assigning high *mansabs*, offices and *jāgīrs*. Akbar cemented his bonds with them by contracting matrimonial alliances. Certainly, all of Rajput chiefs were not treated with equal generosity. The highest privileges were enjoyed by only a few of them. Abūl Fazl has furnished us with the traditional figures of infantry and cavalry of some of the important Rajput clans. Obviously these figures are inflated; but the figures are indicative of the relative size of each of the different Rajput clans as popularly believed, at the end of Akbar's reign. The following table of the clans and their military strength shows the hierarchical position of the Rajput clans:

| | Clan | Cavalry | Infantry |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rathore | 60,000 | 200,000 |
| 2. | Chauhan | 50,000 | 200,000 |
| 3. | Jadon | 50,000 | 200,000 |
| 4. | Solanki | 30,000 | 100,000 |
| 5. | Ghelot | 20,000 | 300,000 |
| 6. | Kachawahas | 20,000 | 100,000 |
| 7. | Panwar | 12,000 | 60,000 |
| 8. | Tunwar | 10,000 | 25,000 |
| 9. | Sargujar | 10,000 | 40,000[1] |

1. *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, III, pp.44-45.

However, a pertinent question arises as to the criterion on whose basis these chiefs were enrolled in the service? The selection may also be viewed geographically: From what areas the favoured Rajputs came? For this purpose, relying upon the information in the _Āin-i Akbarī_, I have prepared a list of _parganas_ belonging to the different _sarkārs_ where Rajput clans are recorded as _zamīndārs_. I have also prepared two maps showing the geographical distribution of _zamīndārīs_ of the different Rajput clans in Akbarī Empire.

_Kachawahas:_

Bhār Mal was the first Rajput chief who along with a number of Kachawaha chiefs joined Akbar's service in 1562. He entered into matrimonial ties with Akbar by marrying his daughter to him.[1] Subsequently, in 1584 Bhagwant Dās' daughter was given in marriage to Prince Salīm.[2] Throughout Akbar's reign, the Kachawaha nobles enjoyed a privileged position among the Rajput chiefs. They were assigned important offices. In 1572, when Akbar left Āgra for Gujarāt, Bhār Mal was appointed _Vazīr-i Mutlaq_ (Minister with Unlimited Powers) and was left behind at Āgra.[3] In 1583, Jagannāth and Lunkaran were

---

1. _Akbarnāma_, II, pp.157-58.
2. _Ibid._, III, p.451.
3. _Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh_, I, p.151.

appointed to look after the department of armoury and communications.[1] Rāja Āskaran was put incharge of the properties of the deceased.[2] At the same time, Jagmāl got the charge of the department of purchase and sales.[3] In 1586, when Akbar introduced two posts of sūbedārs in each sūba, Jagannāth, Rāja Āskaran, Rāja Bhagwant Dās and Kunwar Mān Singh were simultaneously appointed as sūbedārs of the sūbas of Ajmer, Āgra, Lāhore and Kābul respectively.[4] In 1591, when the Khālisa administration was reorganised and Akbarī Empire was divided into four divisions, Rām Dās was made incharge of one of the divisions consisting of the sūbas of Āgra, Allāhabād, Bihār and Bengāl.[5] In 1596, when the exaction of tamghā was forbidden throughout the Empire, Rām Dās was assigned the charge of the routes from Lāhore to Gujarāt.[6] During the period 1595-1605, the offices of qil'adār of three important forts Rohtās, Ranthambhore and Gwālior were respectively held by Mān Singh,[7]

---

1. Akbarnāma, III, pp.404-5.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.511.
5. Ibid., p.605.
6. Ibid., p.670.
7. Ibid., tr. p.1251, F.N.1,; Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.65.

Jagannāth[1] and Rāj Singh.[2] Akbar appointed the Rajput nobles to guard ~~xxx~~ his ḥarem; but Kachawaha nobles seem to have especially preferred for this purpose. Rām Dās and Raisāl darbārī were thus appointed guardians of ḥarem.[3]

Towards the end of Akbar's reign, there were eleven Kachawaha nobles out of thirty Rajput mansabdārs of 200 and above. All the Kachawahas belonged to the sūba of Ajmer.[4] They did not hold a compact or extensive territory,[5] however. They held zamīndārī rights in the sūbas of Ajmer and Āgra. A part of t(he sarkār of Ajmer was in the zamīndārī of Kachawahas.[6] From other sources, one knows that the Kachawahas enjoyed zamīndārī rights in Āmber,[7] Deosa,[8] Sāmbhar,[9] Narāina,[10] Neota[11],

---

1. Akbarnāma, III, p.825; Muhta Nainsi-re-Khyāt, I, p.301.
2. Akbarnāma, III, pp.764, 825.
3. Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, II, pp.366-67; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.[illegible]-97, 172-74.
4. See Appendix 'B'.
5. See Map No.2
6. Āīn-i Akbarī, II, pp.508-9.
7. Akbarnāma, III, p.339.
8. Ibid., p.156.
9. Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh, II, p.252; M.U., II, p.116.
10. Muhta Nainsi-re-Khyāt, I, p.304.
11. Akbarnāma, III, p.65.

Sānganer,[1] Phāgī[2] and Mauzabād.[3] In _sarkār_ Nāgore, the Shaikhāwat Kachawahas held Amarsar[4] and Manoharnagar[5] in their _zamīndārīs_.

In the _sūba_ of Āgra, seven _parganas_ have Kachawahas recorded as the _zamīndār_-caste in the _Āīn-i Akbarī_. These were the _parganas_ of Bilāspur in _sarkār_ Kālpi,[6] Anthlabhabru in Alwar,[7] Khandela in Nārnaul[8] and Sahār and three _parganas_ (Ribai, Khoka, and Kharela) in _sarkār_ Erach.[9] But no Kachawaha from those _parganas_ of _sūba_ Āgra is known to have held any _mansab_.

Rathors:

In the early years of Akbar's reign, the Rāthors chiefs of Jodhpur, Bikāner and Merta joined Akbar's service. Akbar contracted matrimonial ties with the chiefs of Jodhpur, Bikāner

---

1. _Vīr Vinod_, p.1275, Sānganer was founded by Bhār Mal's brother Sānga.
2. _Vakīl Report_, dated 1693 A.D., RSA Bikāner,
3. _Muhta Nainsī ra Khyāt_, I, p.314.
4. _Ibid._, p.318.
5. _Akbarnāma_, III, p.221.
6. _Āīn-i Akbarī_, II, p.244.
7. _Ibid._, II, p.448.
8. _Ibid._, p.449.
9. _Ibid._

and Merta.[1] Rāthor chiefs were also assigned important offices. In 1586, Rāo Rāi Singh of Bikāner was appointed one of the two _sūbedārs_ of _sūba_ Lāhore[2]. In 1604, Akbar assigned _pargana_ Shamsabād to Rāo Rāi Singh as his _watan jāgir_.[3] In 1596, Rām Rāi and Kesu Dās were appointed _dīwāns_ of the _sūbas_ of Delhi[4] and Āgra[5] respectively. At the end of Akbar's reign, seven Rāthor nobles held the _mansabs_ of 10,800/2000.[6] All of them, except Pratāp, chief of Baglāna, belonged to the _sūba_ of Ajmer.[7]

The Rathors were found as _zamīndārs_ in five _sūbas_, namely, Āgra, Malwa, Gujarāt, Delhi and Ajmer. In the _sūba_ of Delhi, they held _zamīndārī_ rights in six _parganas_ belonging to the _sarkār_ of Hisār Firoza. The _pargana_ of Bhatner was in the _bhūmī_ rights of Rāthors.[8] A part of the _zamīndārīs_ of the other five _parganas_ namely Bhangiwāl, Bharangi, Toshān, Sidhmukh and Fatehbād were held by them.[9]

---

1. For the matrimonial ties, see Appendix 'B' of Chapter VI.
2. _Akbarnāma_, III, p.511.
3. Akbar's _farmān_ to Rāo Rāi Singh, RSA Bikāner.
4. _Akbarnāma_, III, p.670.
5. _Ibid_.
6. See Appendix A.
7. See Appendix A.
8. _Āīn-i Akbarī_, II, p.526.
9. _Ibid_., pp.526, 527.

In *sūba* Mālwa, the Rāthors enjoyed *zamīndārī* rights in the *sarkārs* of Ujjain and Sārangpur. In *sarkār* Ujjain, they held the *parganas* Ujjain and Badhnāwar in their *zamīndārīs*[1] and in *sarkār* Sārangpur, they enjoyed *zamīndārī* rights in the *parganas* of Palpun and Muḥammadpur.[2]

In *sūba* Āgra, the *pargana* Shamsabād in *sarkār* Kannauj had Rāthor *zamīndārs*.[3] In *sūba* Gujarāt, the Rāthors are recorded against the *pargana* of Idar which belonged to the *sarkār* of Ahmadabad.[4] Another large tract between Surat and Nandurbār, known as Baglāna was held by the Rāthor chief Pratāp.[5]

In *sūba* Ajmer, Rāthors held the bulk of Western Rājasthān within their two great principalities of Jodhpur and Bikāner. Jodhpur constituted a *sarkār* byx itself;[6] and the principality of Bikāner accounted for about half the *sarkār* of Bikāner (which also contained Jaisalmer).[7] In *sarkār* Nāgaur, the *pargana* of Merta had Rāthor *zamīndārs*.[8]

---

1. *Āīn-i Akbarī*, II, p.457.
2. *Ibid.*, p.462.
3. *Ibid.*, p.446.
4. *Ibid.*, p.486.
5. *Ibid.*, p.492.
6. *Ibid.*, p.511.
7. *Ibid.*, p.573.
8. *Akbarnāma*, III, p.195; cf. *Mūhta Nainsi ra Khyāt*, I, p.89.

__Ghelots:__

In 1577, Rāwal Āskaran and Rāwal Pratāp, chiefs of Dungerpur and Bānswāra accepted Mughal suzerainty. Rāwal Āskaran also gave his daughter in marriage to Akbar.[1] Neither of the chiefs received _mansabs_. Rāwal Punja of Dungerpur and Rāwal Samarsī of Bānswāra are noticed as _mansabdārs_ only in the first decade of Shāhjahān's reign.[2] The principalities of Dungerpur and Bānswāra belonged to the _sarkār_ of Sirohī within _sūba_ of Ajmer.[3]

Ghelots held _zamīndārī_ rights in the _sūbas_ of Awadh, Āgra, Delhi and Ajmer. In _sarkār_ Awadh, _pargana_ Panchhamnāth and in _sarkār_ Lucknow, _parganas_ Banjarmau and Sandilah were in their _zamīndārī_.[4] In _suba_ Āgra, their _zamīndārīs_ were in _parganas_ of Jalesar and Maluk Sāh which belonged to the _sarkārs_ of Āgra and Kannauj[5] respectively. In _sūba_ Delhi, _pargana_ of Dasna belonged to them.[6]

---

1. _Akbarnāma_, III, pp.196, 210.
2. Lāhorī, _Bādshāhnāma_, I, pp.305, 308.
3. _Āīn-i Akbarī_, II, pp.511-12.
4. _Ibid._, pp.415, 439.
5. _Ibid._, pp.443, 446.
6. _Ibid._, p.519.

<u>Sisodias</u>:

The Sisodias are a sub-clan of Ghelots.[1] In the early years of Akbar's reign, Jagmāl who was disgruntled with his younger brother the famous Rāna Pratāp of Mewār joined Akbar's service.[2] Another Sisodia chief who took up Akbar's service was Sagar.[3] Rāi Durga of Rāmpura also joined Mughal service.[4] Rāi Durga was given some administrative offices. In 1584, he was one of the nobles who was put incharge of <u>Khālisa</u> administration.[5] In 1586, he was appointed the deputy <u>sūbedār</u> of Ajmer.[6]

Sisodias held <u>zamīndārī</u> rights in the <u>sūba</u> of Mālwa and Ajmer. In <u>sūba</u> Mālwa, three <u>parganas</u> Ringnad, Basarah and Jamiawāra, in <u>sarkār</u> of Mandsor, were in their <u>zamīndārī</u>.[7] The <u>sarkār</u> of Chittor was actually the great Sisodia principality of Mewār; even though the Mughals had occupied large portions of Mewār, the <u>Āīn-i Akbarī</u> records the Sisodias as the <u>zamīndārs</u> of Chittor.[8]

---

1. <u>Āīn-i Akbarī</u>, II, p.519.
2. <u>Akbarnāma</u>, II, p.353.
3. <u>Āīn-i Akbarī</u>, I, p.230; <u>Mārwār-ra-Pargana-ra-Vigat</u>, II, pp.491-92.
4. <u>Āīn-i Akbarī</u>, I, p.225.
5. <u>Akbarnāma</u>, III, pp.404-5.
6. <u>Ibid.</u>, p.511.
7. <u>Āīn-i Akbarī</u>, II, p.446.
8. <u>Ibid.</u>, p.509.

Bhātis:

In 1570, the Bhāti chief Rāwal Har Rāj of Jaiselmer accepted Mughal suzerainty and gave his daughter in marriage to Akbar.[1] After Har Rāj's death in 1578, his son and successor Rāwal married his daughter to Prince Salīm.[2]

The Bhātis were scattered over the ṣūbas of Delhi, Lāhore, Multān and Ajmer. In ṣūba Delhi, they held a part of the parganas of Khizrabād and Sikandrabād as zamīndārs.[3] In the sarkār of Sirhind, pargana Bhatinda was in their bhūmī rights.[4] In the ṣūbas of Lāhore and Multān, they held a number of parganas.[5] The Bhātis of Lāhore and Multān were, however, Muslims[6] and, therefore, separated from the Bhāti Rajputs in all but name. In ṣūba Ajmer the Bhātis are recorded as zamīndārs in Jaiselmer,[7] Pugal and Bikampur.[8]

---

1. Akbarnāma, II, p.359.
2. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp.159-60.
3. Āīn-i Akbarī, II, pp.518, 519.
4. Ibid., p.527.
5. See Appendix B
6. Ibbetson, Punjab Castes, p.145.
7. Āīn-i Akbarī, II, p.513.
8. Muhta Nainsi-re Khyāt, II, p.363; Mārwār-ra-Pargana-re-Vigat, I, p.84.

Hādas:

In the early years of Akbar's reign, Rāo Surjan Hāda of Bundī submitted to the Mughals.[1] A large portion of *sarkār* Ranthambhore, which was in the possession of the Rāo, was taken by the Mughals.[2] Rāo Surjan and his son Bhoj were taken into imperial service.[3] In the *sūba* of Ajmer, the *Ā'īn* records the whole *sarkār* of Ranthambhor within the *zamīndārī* of the Hādas.[4]

Chauhāns:

In 1595, there were two Chauhān chiefs Medini Rāi and Rām Chand who held *manṣabs*.[5] But the region from where they came, is not known. The *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* records the Chauhāns as *zamīndārs* in six *sūbas*, Awadh, Āgra, Mālwa, Gujarāt, Delhi and Ajmer. They held *zamīndārī* rights in as many as sixty *parganas*. But unlike the Sisodias of Mewār, Rāthors of Jodhpur and Hādas of Ranthambhore, they no longer possessed any large principalities. Their *zamīndārī* rights were scattered in the different

---

1. *Akbarnāma*, II, pp.140, 338.
2. *Ibid.*, III, p.210.
3. *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, I, pp.161, 162.
4. *Ibid.*, II, pp.509-11.
5. *Ibid.*, I, p.227.

parganas and sarkārs.[1] In sūba of Āgra, they are recorded against 32 parganas,in the sarkārs of Āgra - 6, Kannauj - 11, Kol - 7, Alwar - 4, Nārnol - 3 and Kālpi-1.[2] In sūba Mālwa, they held zamīndārī rights of eleven parganas, nine of which were in the sarkār of Sārangpur,[3] and the remaining two in sarkārs Chanderi[4] and Mandesor.[5] In sūba Delhi too they held eleven parganas: sarkār Delhi -5,[6] Sirhind - 4,[7] Badāun - 1[8] and Sambhal - 1.[9] In sūba Awadh, five parganas returned them as their zamīndārs, viz., 3 parganas in sarkār Awadh, one in Khairabād, and one in Lucknow.[10] In sūba Gujarāt, three parganas of sarkār of Ahmadabād returned Chauhān zamīndārs.[11] In sūba Ajmer, the zamīndārī of sarkār Ajmer was shared by the *Chauhāns, Kachawāhas and Afghāns.*[12]

---

1. See Map No.2.
2. For the names of the parganas, see Appendix 'B'.
3. Āīn-i Akbarī, II, pp.461, 462.
4. Ibid., pp.460, 466.
5. Ibid., p.466.
6. Ibid., pp.518, 519, 520.
7. Ibid., p.528.
8. Ibid., p.520.
9. Ibid., p.523.
10. Ibid., pp.435, 438, 439.
11. Ibid., pp.493, 494.
12. Ibid., pp.508-9.

Panwāras:

In the north-east of *sarkār* of Little Cutch (Jāmnagar), the *pargana* of Chaubisi was held by Panwār Rājputs.[1] During Akbar's Gujarāt campaign (1575-78 AD), Morvi which was held by Karan Panwār was assigned to Khangar, chief of Cutch.[2] In 1592, it appears that Morvi was taken back from Khangar's son and successor Bhāra, and in 1593, again it was assigned to Karan.[3] About another Panwār chief Achal of Subd, it is stated that he sided with Sulṭān Muẓaffar in 1582 A.D.[4]

In the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, the Panwār chiefs Jagmāl and Sānga are noted as *manṣabdārs*[5] but the region to which they belonged is not known.

The Panwārs held *zamīndārīs* in the *sūbas* of Āgra and Gujarāt. In the *sūba* of Āgra, the *parganas* of Bahi (*sarkār* Āgra) and Kampil (Kanauj) were held by Panwārs.[6] In the *sarkār* of Payānwan, they held four *parganas* namely Payānwan, Bhasanda,

---

1. *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, II, p.116.
2. *Akbarnāma*, III, p.530.
3. *Ibid.*, p.593. See also Ahsan Raza Khan, *Chieftains in the Mughal Empire*, p.81.
4. *Akbarnāma*, III, p.429.
5. *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, I, pp.227, 231.
6. *Ibid.*, pp.443, 446.

Jarkoli, and Suchendi.[1] In *ṣūba* Gujarāt, they are recorded as *zamīndārs* in the *parganas* Dholqa (*sarkār* Ahmadabād), Baroda (*sarkār* Baroda) and Morvi (*sarkār* Sorath).[2]

Tunwars:

Kishan Dās Tunwar who probably belonged to Gwālior held a *manṣab*.[3] The Tunwars held *zamīndārī* rights in *ṣūbas* of Awadh, Āgra and Delhi. In the *ṣūba* of Āgra, five *parganas* Anhon, Badrhattah, Dandroli, Rāipur and Gwālior, all belonging to the *sarkār* of Gwālior were in their *zamīndārīs*.[4] In *sarkār* Nārnol, they held three *parganas*, viz., Singhāna Udaipur, Kotputli and Kanori.[5] In *sarkār* Erach, they held Bījpur.[6] Moreover, in *ṣūba* Delhi, five *parganas* have them recorded as their *zamīndārs*,[7] viz. *pargana* Path of *sarkār* Delhi and *parganas* Atkhera, Jamālpur, Muhim and part of Shānzdah dihāt in *sarkār* Hisār Firozah.[8]

---

1. *Āīn-i Akbarī*, I, pp.449, 450.
2. *Ibid.*, II, pp.494, 496, 487.
3. *Ibid.*, I, p.229.
4. *Ibid.*, pp.447, 448.
5. *Ibid.*, p.454.
6. *Ibid.*, p.448.
7. *Ibid.*, II, pp.526, 527.
8. *Ibid.*

Bhaduriyas:

In the early years of Akbar's reign, the Bhaduriyas of Hat-Kant are mentioned as having been reduced to submission.[1] In 1595, Mukutman and his nephew Bikramājit held the mansabs of 500 and 1000[2] respectively. The Bhaduriyas were quite numerous around the capital city of Āgra. Their military strength amounted to some ten thousand cavalry men and one lakh foot soldiers.[3] They are recorded as zamīndārs in the parganas of Hatkant and Etāwah in the sarkār of Āgra.[4] In pargana Etāwah, they shared the zamīndārī with Brāhmans.[5]

Baghelas:

The Baghela chief Rām Chandra of Bhatta Gahora submitted early in Akbar's reign.[6] Akbar also established matrimonial tie with the Baghela clan.[7] Rāja Rām Chandra held the mansab of 2000 zāt.[8] According to Suryamal Dās, Akbar gave the title

---

1. Akbarnāma, II, p.78.
2. Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, I, p.234; Āīn-i Akbarī, I, p.228.
3. Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, MS. f.108a.
4. Āīn-i Akbarī, II, pp.443, 444.
5. Ibid.
6. Akbarnāma, II, pp.181, 180-83, 340, 341.
7. Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, I, p.104.
8. Āīn-i Akbarī, I, p.224.

of '*Bhaiya*' (brother) to the Rāja.[1] In 1592, after the death of Rām Chandra, his son Balbhadra, who was at the court, was recognised as his successor. But Balbhadra died before reaching Bhatta.[2] In Bhatta, the *sardārs* or chiefs placed the dead ruler's minor son Bikramājit on the throne.[3] Akbar disapproved of this choice on account of his minority.[4] After a long struggle, the *sardārs* were subdued. In 1601, Akbar recognised Duryodhan, son of Balbhadra and the Mughal noble Bhārtī Chand was appointed as his *atālīq* (Adviser).[5]

The Baghelas held *zamīndārī* rights in the *sūbas* of Gujarāt and Allahabād. In *sūba* Gujarāt, *pargana* Harsot of *sarkār* Baroach was in their *zamīndārī*.[6] Other *parganas* held by them were Sordhar, Gondal, Rayit and Dhanal.[7] *Sūba* Allahabād included the principality of Bhatta Gahora with its capital Bandogarh in the *sarkār* of Bhatta Gahora (corresponding to the modern princely state of Rewa).[8]

---

1. *Vīr Vinod*, p.556.
2. *Akbarnāma*, III, pp.641-48.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Akbarnāma*, III, p.788; *Muhta Nainsi-ra-Khyāt*, I, p.133; *Ma'āsir-ul Umarā*, II, pp.136-38.
6. *Āīn-i Akbarī*, II, p.496.
7. *Ibid.*, p.489.
8. *Ibid.*, p.728.

Bundelas:

In 1573, Rāja Madhukar Sāh of Orcha recognised Mughal suzerainty.[1] But he defied imperial orders from time to time.[2] After his death in 1591, his son Rām Chand succeeded him.[3] Towards the end of Akbar's reign, Rām Chand held the mansab of 500 zāt.[4] In 1602, when Bir Singh Deo Bundela killed Abūl Fazl, Rām Chand was sent with Rāi Rāyān to pursue Bir Singh.[5]

The zamīndārīs of Bundelas were in sūbas of Āgra and Mālwa. In sūba Āgra, the three parganas Parāich, Bardun and Khāndbājrah in sarkār Payānwan had Bundelas as their zamīndārs.[6] In sūba Mālwa, they shared the pargana Bara of sarkār Chanderi with Kāyasths.[7]

Dhandhera:

In 1564, Jagman of the Dhandhera clan submitted to the Mughals.[8] Akbar used to go to the regions of Dhandhera for

---

1. Akbarnāma, III, p.77.
2. Ibid., pp.209-10, 230, 261.
3. Ibid., pp.604-5, 628, 750.
4. Āīn-i Akbarī, I, p.228.
5. Akbarnāma, III, p.813.
6. Āīn-i Akbarī, II, pp.449, 450.
7. Ibid., p.460.
8. Akbarnāma, II, p.233.

hunting excursions.[1] Jagman was admitted to the imperial service.[2] In 1599, after the death of Jagman, his son Chatr Bhoj sought imperial recognition as his father's successor.[3] Abūl Fazl calls him one of the chief būmīs (zamīndārs) of Mālwa.[4] He controlled a large tract in the central India.[5]

Jādons:

Rāja Gopāl Dās and Sānwal Dās of Karauli are known to have joined Akbar's service.[6] A certain Tulsi Dās Jādon also held a mansab.[7] At the time of his death, Gopāl Dās held the mansab of 2000 zāt.[8]

Jādons held zamīndārī rights in sūbas of Mālwa, Gujarāt and Āgra. In the sūba of Mālwa, pargana Nolai of sarkār Ujjain returned Jādons as zamīndārs.[9] In sūba Gujarāt, they held

---

1. Akbarnāma, II, p.233.
2. Ibid., III, p.832; Iqbālnāma-i Jahāngīrī, p.504.
3. Akbarnāma, III, p.751.
4. Ibid.
5. According to Shāh Nawāz the territory of Dhandheras comprised some of the parganas of sarkār Sārangpur. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.265-66.
6. Āīn-i Akbarī, I, p.231.
7. Ibid., p.229.
8. Tabaqāt-i Akbarī, II, p.445.
9. Āīn-i Akbarī, II, p.457.

the *pargana* Visālnagar in *sarkār* Pattan.[1] In *sūba* Āgra, the whole *sarkār* Mandrāel is assigned to them.[2]

Pundīrs:

In the early years of Akbar's reign, Bakhtmal, chief of Mau in the Panjāb hills submitted to the Mughals.[3] Towards the end of Akbar's reign, his successor Rāja Bāso (1580-1613), seems to have gained the *mansab* of 1500 *zāt*.[4] The principality of the Pundīr chiefs of Mau comprised the *parganas* of Mau, Dhameri, Paithān and Shāhpur in the *sūba* of Lāhore.[5] In the *sūba* of Āgra and the *sarkār* of Kol, the *parganas* Akbarabād, Jalāli, Sikandra Rāo and Malakpur were in their *zamīndārī*.[6] In *pargana* Payānwan also, they enjoyed *bhūmī* rights.[7] *Pargana* Fatehpur beloinging to the *sūba* of Delhi and *sarkār* of Sirhind was controlled by the Pundīrs.[8]

---

1. *Āīn-i Akbarī*, II, p.495.
2. *Ibid.*, pp.450-51.
3. *Akbarnāma*, II, p.50.
4. *Ibid.*, III, p.821; *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, p.23.
5. *Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn*, III, p.118; Delaet, p.59. According to Hutchinson, Shāhpur was founded by Bakhtmal. *History of the Punjab Hill States*, Vol. I, pp.213, 215, 217.
6. *Āīn-i Akbarī*, II, p.447.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*, p.528.

Bargujars:

During Akbar's reign, no chief of the Bargujar clan is known to have held *mansab*. For the first time in 1611, Anup Rāy Bargujar on saving Jahāngīr from a tiger was granted a *mansab*.[1] However, from the *Āīn-i Akbarī*, it appears that the Bargujars held *zamīndārīs* in the *sūbas* of Delhi and Āgra. In *sūba* Delhi, they held three *parganas* Jadwār, Majhaula and Naroli in the *sarkār* of Sambhal,[2] *pargana* of Hindaun in *sarkār* Delhi and Manglur in *sarkār* Sahāranpur.[3]

In *sūba* Āgra, they held the *parganas* Pahāsu and Khurja and a part of *pargana* Shikārpur in *sarkār* Kol.[4] They held three *parganas* Balhār, Balheri and Deoti-Sanjari in *sarkār* Alwar.[5] In *sarkār* Āgra, the Bargujars held the single *pargana* of Banāwar.[6]

Gaurs:

None of Gaur chiefs are known to have served under Akbar. It is for the first time during Prince Shāh Jahān's rebellion

---

1. *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, p.90; Pelsaert, p.53.
2. *Āīn-i Akbarī*, II, pp.518, 522, 523.
3. *Ibid.*, p.525.
4. *Ibid.*, p.447.
5. *Ibid.*, pp.451, 452.
6. *Ibid.*, p.443.

that Gopāl and Bal Rām Gaur who were previously in the service of Rāo Ratan Hāda left it and joined the Prince.[1] After Shāh Jahān's accession, a number of Gaur nobles were taken into service.[2]

Towards the end of Akbar's reign, Gaurs held zamīndārī rights in the sūbas of Delhi, and Awadh. Four parganas of sūba Delhi namely Chaupālah, Shāhi, Lakhnor and Neodhana, all of sarkār Sambhal, had Gaur zamīndārs.[3] In sūba Awadh, Gaurs are recorded as zamīndārs in pargana Chhatayapur of sarkār Khairabad.[4] Unfortunately, it is not possible to say whether any of the Gaurs who joined imperial service under Shāhjahān came from these areas.

Solankīs:

The Solankīs were one of the zamīndār clans of the sūbas of Mālwa and Gujarāt. In sūba Mālwa they are recorded

---

1. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.250-51.
2. Lāherī, Bādshāhnāma, I, pp.297, 305, 316, 326.
3. Āīn-i Akbarī, II, pp.522, 523.
4. Ibid., p.437.

as *zamīndārs* in Rāisin, *pargana* of *sarkār* Rāisen.[1] In *sūba* Gujarāt, they held *zamīndārī* rights in *pargana* Ahmadnagar of *sarkār* Ahmadabād.[2] The first Solankī chief enrolled in Mughal service seems to have been Narhar of Nainwa (in Mālwa), who was given a *mansab* during the reign of Shāh Jahān.[3]

Sodas:

It seems that the Sodas of Amarkot accepted Mughal suzerainty in Akbar's time. In 1591, we notice that a certain Rāi of Amarkot rendered military support to the Mughal army in Thatta.[4] But it appears that none of the Soda chiefs was given any noticeable *mansab* in Akbar's time. According to the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, the Sodas held a large tract in the *sarkārs* of Bhakkar and Nasarpur in their control.[5]

Jhālas:

In 1585, the Jhāla chief Rai Singh submitted to Akbar.[6] But we do not find any Jhāla chief in the Mughal *mansab* hierarchy.

---

1. *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, II, p.458.
2. *Ibid.*, p.493.
3. Lāhorī, *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p.322.
4. *Akbarnāma*, III, p.605.
5. *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, II, p.557.
6. *Akbarnāma*, III, pp.465-66.

The authority of the Jhālas extended over the *parganas* of Biramgāon, Halwād, Wadhwāhan, Koha, Daran-Gadra, Bijāna, Patri, Sahāla, Baroda, Jhinjhuwāra, Saujan, Dhulhār and Mandal in Saurāshtra.[1]

Ujjainyas:

In 1565, 'Alī Qulī Khān-i-zamān launched an expedition against the Ujjainyas of Jagdīshpur. After a long struggle, Rāja Gajpatī Ujjainya was compelled to surrender to the imperial forces. The fort of Jagdīshpur was occupied.[2] The Rāja rendered military service to the Mughal army against Dāud Khān Kārrānī of Bengāl.[3] There were occasional uprisings by the Ujjainyas[4] but eventually in 1600 A.D. Dalpat Ujjainya submitted to Prince Dānyāl[5] and gave his daughter in marriage to the Prince.[6] None of the Ujjainya chiefs seems to have received *mansab* during Akbar's reign.

---

1. *Āīn-i Akbarī*, II, p.487.
2. *Tazkirat-ul Mulūk*, MS. ff.192b, 194b; *Ta'rīkh-i Akbarī*, pp.220-21.
3. *Akbarnāma*, III, pp.22, 96, 99.
4. *Ibid.*, pp.168-70, 188-9, 323.
5. *Ibid.*, p.750.
6. *Ibid.*, p.826.

The *zamīndārī* rights of the Ujjainyas were in the *sūba* of Bihār and Mālwa. In *sarkār* Rohtās (*sūba* Bihār) they controlled a territory comprising the parganas of Uchna, Bihiya, Bhojpur,[1] Ārra, Pīree, Nauner, Panwār, Danwār, Diāna and Baragāon.[2] In *sūba* Mālwa, the four *parganas* of Ujjain, Unhel, Panbihār and Dipālpur of *sarkār* Ujjain have Ujjainyas as *zamīndā-rs*.[3] But it is not certain if these had any contact with the Ujjainyas of Bihār.

Manhas or Jamwāls:

Rāja Kapoor Chand of Jammu submitted to Akbar as early as 1564, when the Rāja was directed to serve in the expedition against Ādam Khān Ghakkhar.[4] But the chiefs of Jammu intermittently defied the Mughal authorities.[5] However, till the end of Akbar's reign, none of the Manhas chiefs received any *mansab*.

---

1. *Āīn-i Akbarī*, II, p.457.
2. Bodh Raj, 'The Account of the Ujjainyas in Bihar', tr. by B.P. Ambhashthya, *Journal of Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XLVIII, 1961, pp.425, 438, 439-40.
3. *Āīn-i Akbarī*, II, p.457.
4. *Akbarnāma*, II, p.193.
5. In 1590, Parasrām, the then chief of Jammu collaborated with the rebel cheifs of *sūba* Lāhore. He submitted to Zain Khān Kokaltāsh and offered *peshkash* to Akbar (*Akbarnāma*, III, p.583). Again in 1592, Lāl Deo, chief of Jammu neglected to join an expedition to Kāshmir but submitted soon after.(*Akbarnāma*, III, p.631). In 1602, when Rāja Bāsu rebelled, the chief of Jammu wavered in his allegiance to the Mughals. But on Husain Beg's besieging Jammu, the chief submitted. (*Akbarnāma*, III, p.808).

The Manhas held *zamīndārīs* in seven *parganas* of *sūba* Lāhore. Out of the seven, five *parganas*, viz. Bhālot, Bhadrān, Ban, Mankot and Jammu belonged to the *sarkār* of Rechnāu Doāb;[1] and the remaining two Akhandor Ambaran and Mangb were in Chenchat Doāb.[2]

Katochs:

The Katoch chief Rām Chandra of Guler seems to have accepted Mughal suzerainty in 1563. He was sent in the expedition against Ādam Khān Gakkhar.[3] In 1572, when Rāja Jai Chand of Nagarkot rebelled, Rām Chandra arrested the Rāja and sent him to the Mughal court.[4] In subsequent years, he collaborated with other hill chiefs who were in rebellion; but he submitted soon.[5] Again in 1603, upon a revolt of Rāja Jagdīsh Chandra, the successor of Rām Chandra, the fort of Guler was captured by the Mughals and put into the charge of Rām Dās Udāwat.[6] In

---

1. *Āīn-i Akbarī*, II, pp.544, 545, 546.
2. *Ibid.*, pp.546, 547.
3. *Akbarnāma*, II, p.193.
4. *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, II, pp.257-9.
5. *Akbarnāma*, III, p.583. See also, Ahsan Raza Khan, *Chieftains during the reign of Akbar*, pp.45-46.
6. *Akbarnāma*, III, p.810.

Akbar's time, none of the chiefs of Guler was assigned a *mansab*.

Another Katoch chief Dharam Chand of Nagarkot seems to have submitted to the Mughals in 1557.[1] But in 1572, for some unknown reasons, the then chief Jaichand was seized by the Mughals.[2] In Jai Chand's absence, his minor son Bidhi Chand challenged the Mughals.[3] After assigning Nagarkot to Birbal, he (Akbar) sent an expedition against Bidhi Chand. Eventually, the Mughal forces succeeded in subduing Bidhi Chand and a treaty was concluded.[4] Bidhi Chand once again defied the Mughals and joined the revolts of the hill chiefs in 1590. But once again he submitted.[5] Further, in 1598, and 1602, we notice that Bidhi Chand's successor Tilok Chand collaborated with the rebellious hill chiefs. The revolt was put down and consequently Tilok Chand submitted to the Mughals.[6] However, during Akbar's reign, none of the chiefs of Nagarkot succeeded in obtaining *mansabs*. The Katochs held *zamīndārī* rights in the *parganas* of Guler and Nagarkot belonging to the *sarkār* of Barī Doāb of *sūba* Lāhore.[7]

---

1. *Akbarnāma*, II, p.20.
2. *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, II, pp.256-57.
3. *Ibid.* cf. *Akbarnāma*, II, p.270.
4. *Akbarnāma*, III, p.36.
5. *Ibid.*, p.583.
6. *Ibid.*, pp.742, 808, 815.
7. *Āīn-i Akbarī*, II, p.543; Hutchinson, I, pp.134-35.

Surajbansi:

Pratāp Singh Verman (1559-1596) accepted Akbar's authority.[1] In 1578, when Todar Mal was sent to Punjāb to make a settlement with the hill chiefs,[2] Pratāp Singh Verman was forced to surrender Rihlu, Chari and Gharoh to the Mughals.[3] Chamba, a maḥal of sarkār Rechnāu doāh in ṣūba Lāhore, was in the zamīndārī of Surajbansis.[4]

Sena Chandrabansi:

In 1591, Bahādur Shāh, chief of Kishtwār accepted Mughal suzerainty.[5] But he supported the rebel Chak chiefs of Kashmir against the Mughals. At last in 1604, when the Chak chiefs were subdued, Bahādur Shāh himself submitted to the Mughals.[6] In the Āīn's time too the family held zamīndārī rights in the valley of Kishtwār.[7]

---

1. Hutchison, History of the Punjab Hill States, I, p.298.
2. Akbarnāma, III, p.248.
3. Hutchison, History of the Punjab Hill States, I, p.298.
4. Ibid.
5. Akbarnāma, III, p.604.
6. Ibid., p.835.
7. Ibid.; Hutchinson, II, p.640.

Sombansis:

In 1581, Rāja Rudra Chand of Kumāon supported the rebel ʿArab Bahādur who created trouble in Bareilly and Sambhal.[1] But the Mughal forces forced the Rāja to submit to them.[2] In 1589, when the Rāja came to the court to render homage to Akbar,[3] the latter presented him a robe of honour, 101 horses and a few parganas were assigned to him in his 'iqtāʿ',[4] presumably out of territory held by him by hereditary succession. A large territory extending from Tibet to Sambhal was controlled by the chiefs of Kumāon.[5]

At the time of Akbar's death in 1605, there were 30 Rājput mansabdārs out of a total of 95.[6] In numerical strength, they comprised 31.5% of the total mansab holders of Akbar. Rājput chiefs held as high mansabs as 42,200/14650 out of the total mansabs of 2,08,000/58,950. The percentage of the mansabs

---

1. Akbarnāma, III, p.349.
2. Ibid., p.533.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.537.
5. Firishta, Vol. I, p.420.
6. See Appendix 'B'. For the total number of the mansabdārs, see, Afzal Husain's 'The Position of Racial Groups in the Mughal Nobility, 1605-1613', presented to the session of Ind. Hist. Congress, 1979, Waltair. Cyclostyled copy available in the Department of History, Aligarh.

of Rājput chiefs comes to 20.29 in the zāt mansabs and 24.85 in suwār mansabs.[1]

It is significant that the majority of the Rājput chiefs who joined Akbar's service came from sūba of Ajmer. Out of 30 Rājput chiefs, 21 belonged to the sūba.[2] These 21 Rājput chiefs enjoyed the lion's share in the total mansabs of Rājput chiefs. The 21 Rājput chiefs held the mansabs of 41,500/15,700 out of the total of mansabs of 58,300/18,700 given to Rājputs.[3] The province of Ajmer is reported to have contained 90,000 cavalry[4] which was in excess by four times of the reported strength of the whole of the zamīndārs' cavalry of the Mughal Empire.[5]

The Rājput chiefs basically being zamīndārs maintained their own retainers in their principalities. These could in time be presented as troops for the muster and brand. Perhaps, due to this consideration, Akbar paid lower rates on their

---

1. See Appendix 'B'. For the total mansabs of the Mughal Empire, see Irfan Habib's 'Mansab System'- 1595-1637' A.D., pp.221-28.
2. See Appendix 'A'.
3. Ibid.
4. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.169. In the Āīn-i Akbarī (II, pp.508-13) cavalry figures of the sūba of Ajmer were 86,500.
5. The total cavalry strength of the Mughal Empire was 3,84,558. See, Irfan Habib, 'Zamīndārs in Āīn-i Akbarī', P.I.H.C., pp.320-23.

contingents in comparison to their counterpart Tūrānī and Irānī nobles,[1] who did not similarly have a home recruiting ground.

Among the Rājputs under Akbar, the Kachawāhas came to enjoy a dominating position. All of the Kachawāha chiefs, except one belonged to the _sūba_ of Ajmer. Rāja Bhagwān Dās and then Mān Singh held important charges and had close access to Akbar himself. Next were the Rāthors, all of whom except one were again from the same _sūba_. It is also noteworthy that among the hill Rājput chiefs, only Pundīr chief of Mau was taken into imperial service towards the end of Akbar's reign.

The important administrative affairs were assigned either to the Kachawāhas or Rāthors. Among the Rāthors, Rāo Rāi Singh of Bikāner was a particular favourite of Akbar. Rāi Durga Chandrawat of Rāmpura was also given high office.

There was no direct connection between the high position of a Rājput clan in Mughal nobility and the extensiveness of its _zamīndārī_ possessions. The Kachawāhas, compared to other major clans, had no large principality, to begin with, to serve for their base. But still among Rājputs high _mansabs_ went to the territorial chiefs, and not to simple 'soldiers of fortune' as

---

1. _Āʼīn-i Akbarī_, I, p.77; _Akbarnāma_, III, p.672. See also Irfan Habib, 'The _Mansab_ System, 1595-1637', pp.221-28; Shireen Moosvi, 'Share of the Nobility in the Revenues of Akbar's Empire, 1595-96', _IESHR_, Vol. XVII, No.3, pp.336, 339.

in the case of the other sections of the nobility. There were, of course, other factors as well, such as loyalty and close relationship with the Emperor and the performance of the chiefs in service, which also determined the positions enjoyed by individual Rājput chiefs in Akbar's bureaucratic apparatus.

Appendix 'A'

## MANṢABS HELD BY ALIVE RĀJPUT CHIEFS IN 1605 A.D.

### KACHAWĀHAS

| S.No. | Name | Mansab | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Mān Singh | 7000/6000 | A.N.,III,839; Shāhnawāz Khān (M.U.,II,168) holds 7000/7000. |
| 2. | Jagannāth | 5000/3000 | A.N.,III,789. |
| 3. | Rāj Singh | 4000/3000 | Ibid.,839; Iqbāl,510. |
| 4. | Mādho Singh | 3000/2000 | A.N.,III,621; Iqbāl,494. |
| 5. | Rām Dās | 2000/1200 | Tuzuk,9; Iqbāl,508. |
| 6. | Maha Singh | 2000/ 300 | A.N.,III,839. |
| 7. | Bhāo Singh | 1000/ 500 | Iqbāl,508; M.U.,III,360; T.U., f.133; In A.N.,III,836-37, his mansab as 7000 which is obviously a mistake. |
| 8. | Salhadi | 700/ 400 | A.N.,III,836-37. |
| 9. | Rāi Sāl Darbārī | 3000 | T.U., f.152. |
| 10. | Rāi Manohar | 400 | Āīn, I, 184. |
| 11. | Sakat Singh | 1600/ 300 | A.N., III, 836. |

### RĀTHORS

| S.No. | Name | Mansab | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāi Rāi Singh of Bikāner | 4000 | Āīn,I,223; Tabaqāt,II,436. |
| 2. | Pratāp of Baglāna | 3000 | A.N.,III,770; Tuzuk,196. |
| 3. | Rāja Suraj Singh of Jodhpur | 2000/2000 | Vigat, I, 112. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4. | Dalpat s/o Rāi Rāi Singh | 500 | Āīn, I, 228. |
| 5. | Kesho Dās Māru of Merta | 300 | Āīn, I, 229. |
| 6. | Dalpat s/o Mota Rāja of Jodhpur | 500 | Vigat, II, 492. |
| 7. | Sabal Singh s/o Mota Rāja | 500 | Ibid. |

BUNDELAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rām Chand s/o Madhukar | 500 | Āīn, I, 228; Tuzuk, 39; T.U., f.157a. |

BHADURĪYAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāja Mukund | 2000 | Z.K., I, 234; A.N., III, 834. |

SISODIAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Sagar | 200 | Āīn, I, 230; Vigat, II, 491-92. |

DHANDHERAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāja Jagman of Dhandhera | 1000 | A.N., III, 832; Iqbāl, 504. |

Hādas

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāi Bhoj | 1000 | Tabaqāt, II, 455; Iqbāl, 481; Tuzuk, 66. |

PUNDĪRS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāja Bāsu | 700 | A.N., III, 821; Tuzuk, 23. |

TUNWARS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāja Shyām Singh | 1000 | A.N., III, 832; Iqbāl, 504. |
| 2. | Kishan Dās | 300 | Āʾīn, I, 229; Pāttal Potha-re-Khyāt (MS. Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna). |

BHĀTĪS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāwal Bhīm of Jaisalmer | 3000 | Bhātīnāma quoted by Shyāmal Dās, V.V., p.1763. |

BAGHELAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rām Dās Baghela of Bandhogarh | 2000 | Āʾīn, I, 224 (died in 1618, V.V., 556; Vigat, II, 490); A.R. Khan includes him in the category of mansabdārs of 200 which is obviously a slip of pen, Chieftains, 236. |
| 2. | Bikramājīt | 100 | Vigat, II, 492. |

CHANDRĀWAT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāi Durga Chandrāwat | 4000 | Tuzuk, 63-4. |

Appendix 'B'

## LIST OF THE PARGANAS HELD BY RĀJPUT CLANS IN ZAMĪNDĀRĪS IN 1595 A.D.

### KACHAWĀHAS

| S.No. | Sūba | Sarkār | Pargana | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Āgra | Kālpi | Bilāspur | Āīn, II, 444. |
| 2. | ,, | Erach | Riabanah | Ibid., 448. |
| 3. | ,, | ,, | Khākes | Ibid., 449. |
| 4. | ,, | ,, | Kharela | Ibid. |
| 5. | ,, | Alwar | Anthlah Babru | Ibid., 451. |
| 6. | ,, | Nārnol | Khandela | Ibid., 454; Z.K., II, 367. |
| 7. | ,, | Sahār | Sahār | Āīn, II, 455. |
| 8. | Ajmer | Ajmer | Āmber | A.N., III, 339. |
| 9. | ,, | ,, | Deosa | A.N., II, 156. |
| 10. | ,, | ,, | Sāmbhar | Badāonī, II, 252; M.U., II, 116. |
| 11. | ,, | ,, | Narāina | M.K., I, 104. |
| 12. | ,, | ,, | Naota | A.N., III, 65. |
| 13. | ,, | ,, | Sānganer | V.V., 1275. |
| 14. | ,, | ,, | Phāgī | Vakīl Report, 1693 A.D., RSA, Bikāner. |
| 15. | ,, | ,, | Mauzabād | M.K., I, 314. |
| 16. | ,, | Nāgore | Amarsar | Ibid., 318. |
| 17. | ,, | ,, | Manoharpur | A.N., III, 221. |

RĀTHORS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Delhi | Hisār Firuza | Bhatner | Āīn, II, 526. |
| 2. | ,, | ,, | Bhagiwāl | Ibid. |
| 3. | ,, | ,, | Bharangī | Ibid. |
| 4. | ,, | ,, | Tosham | Ibid. |
| 5. | ,, | ,, | Sidhmukh | Ibid., 527. |
| 6. | ,, | ,, | Fatehabād | Ibid. |
| 7. | Mālwa | Ujjain | Ujjain | Ibid. |
| 8. | ,, | ,, | Badhnawār | Āīn, II, 457. |
| 9. | ,, | Sarangpur | Palpun | Ibid., 462. |
| 10. | ,, | ,, | Muḥammadpur | Ibid. |
| 11. | Āgra | Kannauj | Shamsabād | Ibid., 446. |
| 12. | Gujarāt | Ahmedabād | Idar | Ibid., 486. |
| 13. | ,, | ,, | Baglāna | Ibid., 492. |
| 14. | Ajmer | Jodhpur | All the *parganas* of Jodhpur *sarkār* | Ibid., 511. |
| 15. | ,, | Bikāner | Some *parganas* of *sarkār* Bikāner | Ibid., 513. |
| 16. | ,, | Nāgaur | Merta | A.N., III, 195. |

GHELOTS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Awadh | Awadh | Panchamnāth | *Āīn*, II, 435. |
| 2. | ,, | Lucknow | Bangarmau | *Ibid.*, 439. |
| 3. | ,, | ,, | Sandilah | *Ibid.* |
| 4. | Āgra | Āgra | Jalesar | *Ibid.*, 443. |
| 5. | ,, | Kannauj | Malukea | *Ibid.*, 446. |
| 6. | Delhi | Delhi | Dasna | *Ibid.*, 519. |
| 7. | Ajmer | Sirohī | Dungarpur | *Ibid.* 512. |
| 8. | ,, | ,, | Bānswāra | *Ibid.*, 511. |

SISODIAS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Mālwa | Mandsor | Ringnad | *Āīn*, II, 466. |
| 2. | ,, | ,, | Basarah | *Ibid.* |
| 3. | ,, | ,, | Jamiawāra | *Ibid.* |
| 4. | Ajmer | Chittor | All the *parganas* of Chittor *sarkār* | *Ibid.*, 509. |

BHĀTĪS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Delhi | Sirhind | Khizrabād | *Āīn*, II, 518. |
| 2. | ,, | Delhi | Sikandrabād | *Ibid.*, 519. |
| 3. | ,, | Sirhind | Bhatinda | *Ibid.*, 527. |
| 4. | Ajmer | Bikāner | Jaisalmer | *M.K.*, II, 354-5. |
| 5. | ,, | ,, | Pugal | *Ibid.*, 363. |
| 6. | ,, | ,, | Bikampur | *Ibid.* |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7. | Lāhore | Bet Jullundar Doāb | Jeora | *Āīn.* II, 540. |
| 8. | ,, | ,, | Sulṭānpur | *Ibid.* |
| 9. | ,, | ,, | Shaikhpur | *Ibid.*, 541. |
| 10. | ,, | ,, | Miāni Nuria | *Ibid.* |
| 11. | ,, | Barī Doāb | Batāla | *Ibid.*, 542. |
| 12. | ,, | ,, | Biāh | *Ibid.* |
| 13. | ,, | ,, | Jalālabād | *Ibid.* |
| 14. | ,, | ,, | Kasur | *Ibid.*, 543. |
| 15. | ,, | Rechna Doāb | Amrakī Bhattī | *Ibid.*, 544. |
| 16. | Multān | Multān (Birun-i Panjnād) | Mārot | *Ibid.*, 552. |
| 17. | ,, | Dipālpur (Jalandhar Doāb) | Bhatītī Dipālpur Lakhī | *Ibid.*, 552. |
| 18. | ,, | ,, | Qiyāmpur Lakhī | *Ibid.* |
| 19. | ,, | ,, | Lakhī Yusufai | *Ibid.*, 553. |
| 20. | ,, | ,, | Kalanki Lakhī | *Ibid.* |
| 21. | ,, | ,, | Gulnār kī Lakhī | *Ibid.* |
| 22. | ,, | ,, | Lakhī Lesqānī | *Ibid.* |
| 23. | ,, | Dipālpur (Barī Doāb) | Bahārpāl | *Ibid.* |
| 24. | ,, | Birun-i Panjnād | Jalālabād | *Ibid.* |
| 25. | ,, | ,, | Jankar | *Ibid.* |
| 26. | ,, | ,, | Muḥammadawat | *Ibid.* |
| 27. | ,, | Bhakkar | Darbela | *Ibid.*, 554. |

HĀDAS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Ajmer | Ranthambore | whole *sarkār* | *Āīn*, II, 509-11. |

CHAUHĀNS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Awadh | Awadh | Anhonah | *Āīn*, II, 435. |
| 2. | ,, | ,, | Daryabād | *Ibid.* |
| 3. | ,, | ,, | Ruddulī | *Ibid.* |
| 4. | ,, | Khairabād | Sārah | *Ibid.*, 438. |
| 5. | ,, | Lucknow | Bijnor | *Ibid.*, 439. |
| 6. | Āgra | Āgra | Chandawar | *Ibid.*, 444. |
| 7. | ,, | ,, | Rāpri | *Ibid.* |
| 8. | ,, | ,, | Songar Songrī | *Ibid.* |
| 9. | ,, | ,, | Mandawar | *Ibid.* |
| 10. | ,, | Kālpi | Kālpi Shāhpur | *Ibid.*, 445. |
| 11. | ,, | Kanauj | Bhongāon | *Ibid.* |
| 12. | ,, | ,, | Patiāli | *Ibid.* |
| 13. | ,, | ,, | Bara | *Ibid.*, 446. |
| 14. | ,, | ,, | Chhabramau | *Ibid.* |
| 15. | ,, | ,, | Deoha | *Ibid.* |
| 16. | ,, | ,, | Sāket | *Ibid.* |
| 17. | ,, | ,, | Sahār | *Ibid.* |
| 18. | ,, | ,, | Saurikh | *Ibid.* |
| 19. | ,, | ,, | Saror *or* Sareur | *Ibid.* |
| 20. | ,, | ,, | Kanauj | *Ibid.* |
| 21. | ,, | ,, | Kampil | *Ibid.* |
| 22. | ,, | Kol | Atrauli | *Ibid.*, 447. |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 23. | Āgra | Kol | Bilrām | _Āīn._, II, 447. |
| 24. | ,, | ,, | Tappal | _Ibid._ |
| 25. | ,, | ,, | Chandaus | _Ibid._ |
| 26. | ,, | ,, | Kol | _Ibid._ |
| 27. | ,, | ,, | Mārahrah | _Ibid._ |
| 28. | ,, | ,, | Malakpur | _Ibid._ |
| 29. | ,, | Alwar | Hājīpur | _Ibid._, 452. |
| 30. | ,, | ,, | Sakhān | _Ibid._ |
| 31. | ,, | ,, | Mandāwar | _Ibid._ |
| 32. | ,, | ,, | Mandaur | _Ibid._ |
| 33. | ,, | Nārnol | Bārh | _Ibid._, 454. |
| 34. | ,, | ,, | Barodah Rāna _or_ Bahora | _Ibid._ |
| 35. | ,, | ,, | Pataudī | _Ibid._ |
| 36. | Mālwa | Chanderī | Jhājhon | _Ibid._, 460. |
| 37. | ,, | Sārangpur | Ashtalī | _Ibid._, 461. |
| 38. | ,, | ,, | Agar | _Ibid._ |
| 39. | ,, | ,, | Talen | _Ibid._, 462. |
| 40. | ,, | ,, | Sārangpur | _Ibid._ |
| 41. | ,, | ,, | Sandarāi | _Ibid._ |
| 42. | ,, | ,, | Shujaapur | _Ibid._ |
| 43. | ,, | ,, | Karhalī _or_ Karaplī | _Ibid._ |
| 44. | ,, | ,, | Kāyith _or_ Kāoti | _Ibid._ |
| 45. | ,, | ,, | Naugāon | _Ibid._ |
| 46. | ,, | Mandasar | Barāudah | _Ibid._, 466. |
| 47. | Gujarāt | Ahmadabād | Rurdhu or Arhar | _Ibid._, 493. |
| 48. | ,, | ,, | Maḥmudabād | _Ibid._, 494. |
| 49. | ,, | ,, | Mangraj | _Ibid._ |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 50. | Ajmer | Ajmer | A part of the *sarkār* of Ajmer | *Ibid.*, 508-9. |
| 51. | Delhi | Delhi | Bāghpat | *Ibid.*, 518. |
| 52. | ,, | ,, | Delhi | *Ibid.*, 519. |
| 53. | ,, | ,, | Santha | *Ibid.* |
| 54. | ,, | ,, | Shikārpur | *Ibid.* |
| 55. | ,, | ,, | Karnāl | *Ibid.*, 520. |
| 56. | ,, | Badāun | Ajāon | *Ibid.* |
| 57. | ,, | Sambhal | Kabar | *Ibid.*, 523. |
| 58. | ,, | Sirhind | Sadhura | *Ibid.*, 528. |
| 59. | ,, | ,, | Shāhabād | *Ibid.* |
| 60. | ,, | ,, | Mustafabād | *Ibid.* |
| 61. | ,, | ,, | Sulṭānpur Bārha | *Ibid.* |

PANWĀRS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Āgra | Āgra | Barī | *Āīn*, II, 443. |
| 2. | ,, | Kanauj | Kampil | *Ibid.*, 446. |
| 3. | ,, | Payānwan | Payānwan | *Ibid.*, 449. |
| 4. | ,, | ,, | Bhasanda | *Ibid.* |
| 5. | ,, | ,, | Jharaulī | *Ibid.* |
| 6. | ,, | ,, | Sehandī | *Ibid.*, 450. |
| 7. | Gujarāt | Ahmadabād | Dholka | *Ibid.*, 494. |
| 8. | ,, | Baroda | Baroda | *Ibid.*, 496. |
| 9. | ,, | Sorath | Morvi | *Ibid.*, 487. |
| 10. | ,, | ,, | Chotla | *Ibid.* |

## TUNWARS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Awadh | Bahrāich | Firozabād | *Āīn*, II, 437. |
| 2. | Āgra | Gwālior | Anhon | *Ibid.*, 447. |
| 3. | ,, | ,, | Badrhatta | *Ibid.*, 448. |
| 4. | ,, | ,, | Dandrolī | *Ibid.* |
| 5. | ,, | ,, | Rāipur | *Ibid.* |
| 6. | ,, | ,, | Gwālior | *Ibid.* |
| 7. | ,, | Erach | Bijpur | *Ibid.* |
| 8. | ,, | Nārnol | Singānah Udaipur | *Ibid.*, 454. |
| 9. | ,, | ,, | Ketputlī | *Ibid.* |
| 10. | ,, | ,, | Kanwarī | *Ibid.* |
| 11. | ,, | Narwar | The whole Narwar *sarkār* | *Ibid.*, 450. |
| 12. | Delhi | Delhi | Puth | *Ibid.*, 518. |
| 13. | ,, | Hisār Firozah | Atkhera | *Ibid.*, 526. |
| 14. | ,, | ,, | Jamālpur | *Ibid.* |
| 15. | ,, | ,, | Shānzdah Dihāt | *Ibid.*, 527. |
| 16. | ,, | ,, | Muhimi | *Ibid.* |

## BHADURĪYAS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Āgra | Āgra | Etāwah | *Āīn*, II, 443. |
| 2. | ,, | ,, | Hatkant | *Ibid.*, 444. |

## BAGHELAS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Gujarāt | Broach(south) | Harset | *Āīn*, II, 496. |
| 2. | ,, | Sorath | Gondal | *Ibid.*, 489. |
| 3. | ,, | ,, | Sordhar | *Ibid.* |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4. | Gujarāt | Sorath | Rāyit | Āīn, II, 489. |
| 5. | ,, | ,, | Dhanak | Ibid. |
| 6. | Allāhabād | Batha Gahora | whole sarkār | A.N., III, 728. |

BUNDELAS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Āgra | Payānwan | Parancha | Āīn, II, 449. |
| 2. | ,, | ,, | Budhon | Ibid. |
| 3. | ,, | ,, | Khāndbājrah | Ibid., 450. |
| 4. | Mālwa | Chanderi | Bara | Ibid., 460. |

XI.

DHANDHERAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Mālwa | A large tract known as Dhandhera in the Central India was in their zamīndārī | A.N., III, 751. |

JĀDONS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Mālwa | Ujjain | Nolai | Āīn, II, 457. |
| 2. | Gujarāt | Pattan | Visalnagar | Ibid., 495. |
| 3. | Āgra | Sarkār Mandlāer was in their zamīndārī | | Ibid., 450-51 |

PUNDĪRS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Lāhore | Barī Doāb | Mau Nurpur | Z.K., III, 118. |
| 2. | ,, | ,, | Dhamari | De laet, p.59. |
| 3. | ,, | ,, | Paithān | Z.K., III, 118. |
| 4. | ,, | ,, | Shāhpur | Hutchison, I, 213, 215. |
| 5. | Āgra | Kol | Akbarabād | Āīn, II, 447. |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6. | Āgra | Kol | Jalālī | Āīn, II, 447. |
| 7. | ,, | ,, | Sikandra Rāe | Ibid. |
| 8. | ,, | ,, | Malakpur | Ibid. |
| 9. | ,, | Payānwan | Payānwan | Ibid., 449. |
| 10. | Delhi | Sirhind | Fathpur | Ibid., 528. |

BARGUJARS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Āgra | Āgra | Banāwar | Āīn, II, 443. |
| 2. | ,, | Kol | Pahāsu | Ibid., 447. |
| 3. | ,, | ,, | Khurjah | Ibid. |
| 4. | ,, | ,, | Shikārpur | Ibid. |
| 5. | ,, | Alwar | Balhār(Bairohar) | Ibid., 451. |
| 6. | ,, | ,, | Balehtta | Ibid. |
| 7. | ,, | ,, | Devati Sanchāri | Ibid., 452. |
| 8. | Delhi | Delhi | Jharsa | Ibid., 518. |
| 9. | ,, | Sambhal | Jadwār | Ibid., 522. |
| 10. | ,, | ,, | Majhaula | Ibid., 523. |
| 11. | ,, | ,, | Nareli | Ibid. |
| 12. | ,, | Sahāranpur | Manglaur | Ibid., 525. |

GAURS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Awadh | Khairabād | Chhitepur | Āīn, II, 437. |
| 2. | Delhi | Sambhal | Chaupala | Ibid., 522. |
| 3. | ,, | ,, | Shāhī | Ibid., 523. |
| 4. | ,, | ,, | Lakhner | Ibid. |
| 5. | ,, | ,, | Neodhana | Ibid. |

## SOLANKĪS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Mālwa | Rāisin | Rāisin | *Āīn*, II, 458. |
| 2. | Gujarāt | Ahmadabād | Ahmadnagar | *Ibid.*, 493. |

## SODAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Sind | A large tract in the *sarkārs* of Bhakkar and Nasarpur was held by them. | *Āīn*, II, 557. |

## JHĀLAS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Gujarāt | Saurashtra | Viramgāon | *Āīn*, II, 487. |
| 2. | ,, | ,, | Halvad | *Ibid.* |
| 3. | ,, | ,, | Wadhwān | *Ibid.* |
| 4. | ,, | ,, | Koha | *Ibid.* |
| 5. | ,, | ,, | Daran Gadra | *Ibid.* |
| 6. | ,, | ,, | Bijāna | *Ibid.* |
| 7. | ,, | ,, | Patri | *Ibid.* |
| 8. | ,, | ,, | Sahāla | *Ibid.* |
| 9. | ,, | ,, | Baroda | *Ibid.* |
| 10. | ,, | ,, | Jhinjhuwāra | *Ibid.* |
| 11. | ,, | ,, | Sawjan | *Ibid.* |
| 12. | ,, | ,, | Dhulhār | *Ibid.* |
| 13. | ,, | ,, | Mandal | *Ibid.* |

## UJJAINYAS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Mālwa | Ujjain | Ujjain | *Āīn*, II, 457. |
| 2. | ,, | ,, | Unhel | *Ibid.*, |
| 3. | ,, | ,, | Panbihār | *Ibid.* |
| 4. | ,, | ,, | Dipālpur | *Ibid.* |
| 5. | Bihār | Rohtās | Uchna | Bodh Raj, 'The accounts of Ujjainyas in Bihar', *Journal of Bihar Research Society*, XLVIII, 1961, 425-40. |
| 6. | ,, | ,, | Bihiya | |
| 7. | ,, | ,, | Bhojpur | |
| 8. | ,, | ,, | Arra | *Ibid.* |
| 9. | ,, | ,, | Piroo | *Ibid.* |
| 10. | ,, | ,, | Nānor | *Ibid.* |
| 11. | ,, | ,, | Panwār | *Ibid.* |
| 12. | ,, | ,, | Danwār | *Ibid.* |
| 13. | ,, | ,, | Diāna | *Ibid.* |
| 14. | ,, | ,, | Baragāon | *Ibid.* |
| 15. | ,, | ,, | Jagdispur | *Ibid.* |

## MANHAS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Lāhore | Rechnau Doāb | Bālot | *Āīn*, II, 544. |
| 2. | ,, | ,, | Bhādraen | *Ibid.* |
| 3. | ,, | ,, | Ban | *Ibid.* |
| 4. | ,, | ,, | Jammu | *Ibid.* |
| 5. | ,, | ,, | Jasrona | *Ibid.*, 545. |
| 6. | ,, | ,, | Mankot | *Ibid.*, 546. |
| 7. | ,, | Chenahat Doāb | Akhandu | *Ibid.* |
| 8. | ,, | ,, | Ambaran | *Ibid.* |
| 9. | ,, | ,, | Mangh | *Ibid.*, 547. |

## KATOCH

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Lāhore | Bari Doāb | Guler | *Āīn*, II, 543. |
| 2. | ,, | ,, | Nagarkot | Hutchinson, I, 134-35. |

## SURAJBANSĪ

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Lāhore | Rochnāu Doab | Rihlu | Hutchinson, I, 298. |
| 2. | ,, | ,, | Chārī | *Ibid.* |
| 3. | ,, | ,, | Gharoh | *Ibid.* |
| 4. | ,, | ,, | Chamba | *Ibid.* |

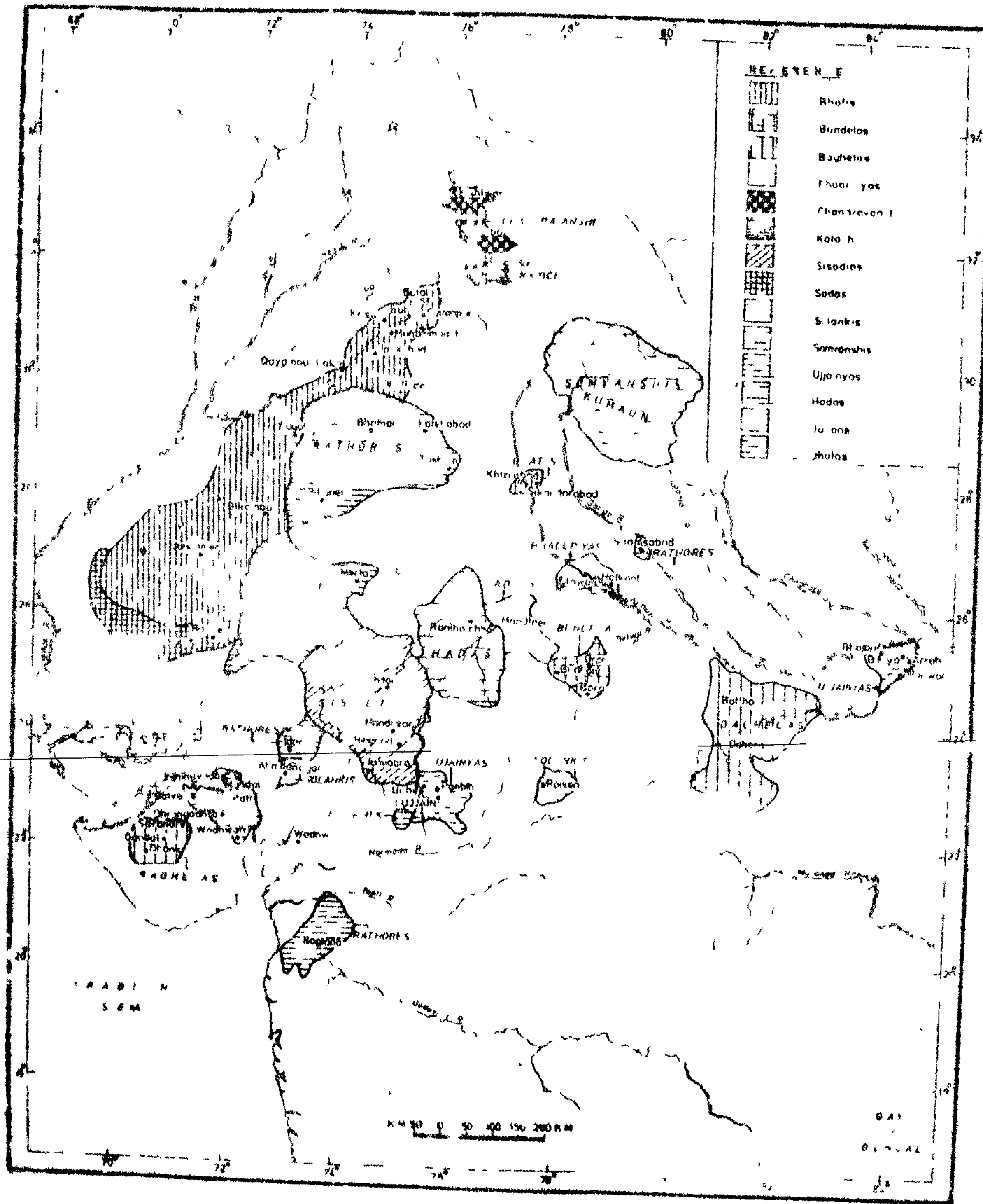
## SENA CHANDRABANSĪ

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Kābul | - | Valley<br>Kishtawār | *A.N.*, III, 835;<br>Hutchinson, II, 640. |

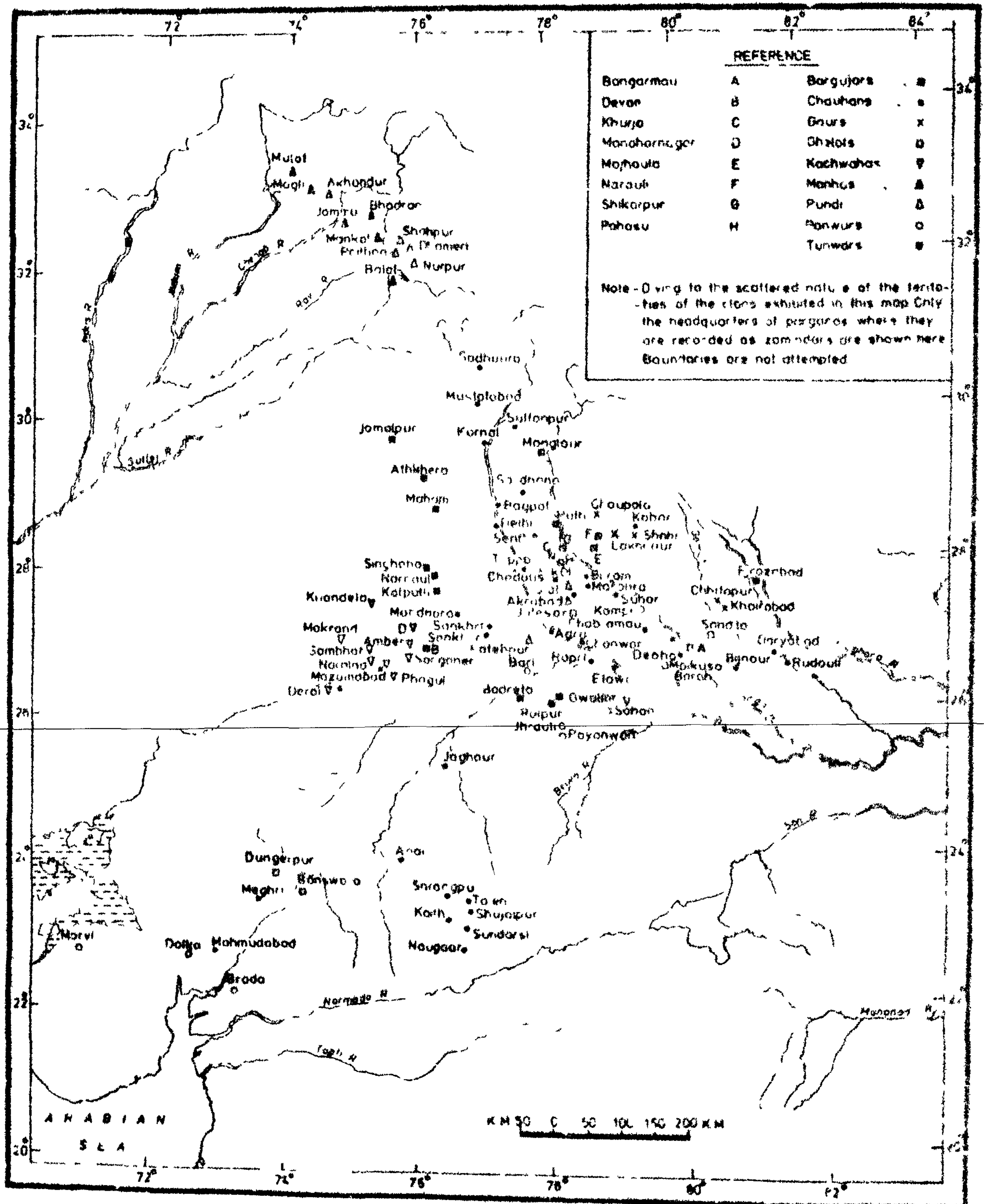
## SOMBANSĪS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Delhi | A large tract extending from Tibet to Sambhal was controlled by Sombansis | | Ferishta, II, 420. |
| 2. | Lāhore | Bari Doāb | Kāngra | *Āīn*, II, 543. |
| 3. | ,, | ,, | Darweh | *Ibid.* |
| 4. | ,, | ,, | Chat Wanbāla | *Ibid.*, 542. |

## TERRITORIES OF RĀJPUT ZAMĪNDĀR CLANS-No.1, 1595 A D
## (Based on the Āīn-i-Akbarī)



# TERRITORIES OF RĀJPUT ZAMĪNDĀR CLANS-No-2,1595AD
## ( Based on the Āīn-i-Akbarī )



Chapter II

## JAHĀNGĪR AND RĀJPUT CHIEFS

The position of the Rājput nobles under Jahāngīr is a much debated question. S.R. Sharma was first to say that the position of the 'Hindus' in the Mughal service was threatened after Jahāngīr's accession 'by the events connected with Khusrau's rebellion'. In this connection, he cited the cases of Mān Singh who came under suspicion and of Rāi Rāi Singh who had actually rebelled.[1] By comparing the total of zāt mansabs and offices held by the Rājput nobles towards the end of Akbar's reign with those of the early years of Jahāngīr's reign, Refaqat Ali Khan even suggests that Jahāngīr had reversed Akbar's Rājput policy depriving Rājputs of high positions in the nobility as well as the administration. He has also cited a letter of ʿAzīz Koka, addressed to Jahāngīr in which it was alleged that as a consequence of Jahāngīr's policy of favouring Irānīs and Indian Muslims, the position of the Turānī and Rājput nobles was adversely affected.[2] This thesis has been re-examined by Athar Ali on the basis of the evidence relating to the

---

1. The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors, pp.70-71.
2. The Kachhawahas under Akbar and Jahangir, p.196.

position of the Rājput nobles at different points of time during Jahāngīr's reign to indicate two distinct phases of Jahāngīr's Rājput policy: (a) First eight years of Jahāngīr's reign when the position of the Rājputs suffered a set-back and (b) last 13 years of Jahāngīr's reign when certain Rājput nobles favoured by the king were promoted to high mansabs. According to him, by 1621, the Rājputs seem to have recovered the ground they had lost on account of Jahāngīr's distrust of some of Rājput clans during the first few years after his accession.[1] As against this thesis, in a recent study, Afzal Husain holds that the position of the Rājput nobles as a whole did not suffer at all under Jahāngīr. Only the members of the house of Āmber were isolated from the court. Commenting on ʿAzīz Koka's letter, Afzal Husain says that actually, when ʿAzīz Koka states that the position of the Rājputs was undermined, he apparently has in his mind the isolation of the house of Āmber.[2]

The above summary of the contending views of the modern historians about the position of the Rājput nobles under Jahāngīr underlines the need of a more detailed examination of the existing evidence on this problem. It would perhaps enable

---

1. Athar Ali, 'Professional Advancement of the Mughal Nobility', paper presented at the Annual Session of American Association of Asian Studies, 1979.

2. 'The Emperor's Relations with the Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir', PIHC, 1977, cyclostyled copy is available in the Department of History, Aligarh.

one to arrive at a more balanced conclusion if the total of the *mansabs* held by the Rājput nobles as well as by the individual clans comprising the groups at different points of time during Jahāngīr's reign is worked out. This information combined with the evidence relating to the bestowal of titles and offices on individual Rājput noble from time to time might give some idea of the nature of the changes that came in their position as a group and also the circumstances which underscored these changes. In this study, however, it should be our attempt to explain the changing fortunes of the entire Rājput group as well as the individual clans comprising it in the background of the major political developments.

For the purpose of this kind of analysis one could divide the reign of Jahāngīr into three phases corresponding roughly to the main phases of the history of the court politics under him, namely (a) from 1605 to 1612, (b) 1612 to 1621, (c) 1621 to 1627. The phase (a) was the period preceding Jahāngīr's marriage to Nūr Jahān when he was systematically promoting a new set of nobles to create a counter weight within the nobility against the highly placed nobles of Akbar's time, many of whom had opposed his accession and were suspected of sympathising with Khusrau during his rebellion in 1606.[1] The phase (b) covers the

---

1. S. Inayat Ali Zaidi, 'The Political Role of Kachawaha Nobles during Jahangir's Reign', PIHC, 1975, pp.180-89.

period of ten years when following Jahāngīr's marriage with Nūr Jahān in 1611, the members of I'timāduddaula's family received rapid promotions which resulted in strengthening the position of the Irānī nobles at Court.[1] This situation was interpreted by Azīz Kokā, a contemporary Tūrānī noble of high standing, as the outcome of Jahāngīr's deliberate policy of preferring Irānīs and Indian Muslims over the Rājputs and Tūrānīs.[2] Besides I'timāduddaula's family, several other non-Tūrānī clans among whom Irānīs were more conspicuous, improved their position. The family members of Mahābat Khān, Khān-i Jahān Lodī and 'Abdullah Khān Firoz Jang were also given bold promotions during this period.[3] On the other hand, the fortunes of the family of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī a clan of Indian Shaikh-zādās who had risen to prominence during the phase 'a' dwindled.[4]

---

1. Beni Prasad, A History of Jahangir, pp.159-72; Nurul Hasan, 'The Theory of Nur Jahan "Junta"', PIHC, 1958, pp.324-35; Irfan Habib, 'The Family of Nur Jahan during Jahangir's Reign, a Political Study', Medieval India - A Miscellany, Vol. I, p.95.
2. Maktūbāt-i Khān-i Jahān Muzaffar Khān wa Gwaliornama Waghaira, MS. ff.10a-b; Hawkins, Early Travels in India, pp.106-7.
3. Mahābat Khān and his son Amanullah Khān enjoyed the mansabs of 6000/6000 and 3000/1800 (Ma'āsir-i Jahāngīrī, ff.156a&b; Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, 347-48), Khān-i Jahān Lodī, Shahbāz Khān Lodī and Asalat Khan held the mansabs of 6000/6000, 2000/1000 and 2000/1000 respectively. (Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, 147, 184, 352). 'Abdullah Khān Firoz Jang and his brother Sardār Khān held the mansabs of 6000/6000 and 3000/2500. (Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, 334-36; 158-59, 344; Iqbālnāma-i Jahāngīrī, p.186). See also Afzal Husain's unpublished thesis The Role of Family Groups of Nobles in Mughal Politics, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh.
4. In 1612, the members of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī held the total mansabs of 14,200/12,450. By 1622, the total of their mansabs was reduced to 5000/3,500. See, Afzal Husain, 'The Family of Shaikh Salim Chishti during the Reign of Jahangir', Medieval India - A Miscellany, Vol. II, p.63.

In the phase 'c', even after a rift had occured between Khurram and Nūr Jahān the trend of improvement in the position of the members of I'timāduddaulā's family was not interrupted.[1] It was during this period that Khurram's revolt (1622-23) and the Mahābat Khān's ~~xxxxx~~ coup d'e'tat (1626) took place. Apparently, these revolts contributed to strengthening Nūr Jahān's hold over Jahāngīr which she continued to use to secure high promotions for her proteges, many of whom happened to be the members of I'timād-uddaulā's family.

It would be fruitful to ascertain as to in what manner the position of the Rājput nobles was affected by the twists and turns of the factional alignments at Jahāngīr's court during these three phases. For this purpose, we have prepared the lists of the mansabs held by the Rājput nobles in 1611-12 and 1621. In each of these lists we have included all those Rājput nobles who are mentioned as being in the active service in the year to which it relates. In these lists, however, only zāt mansabs are taken into account. The information regarding suwār ranks of the nobles is incomplete for the years 1605 and 1611-12,[2]

---

1. Irfan Habib, 'The Family of Nur Jahan during Jahangir's Reign, a Political Study', Medieval India - A Miscellany, I, 79.

2. In Abūl Fazl and Nizāmuddīn Ahmad's lists of mansabdārs, which were comprised in 1595, only the zāt rank is mentioned, but not the suwār rank. In a recent study, it has been established that the suwār rank came into being around 1595-96. Even though in so many cases, the suwār rank is not mentioned. See, Shireen Moosvi, 'Evolution of Mansab System under Akbar till 1595-96', IHC, Hyderabad, 1978.

and therefore, it cannot be used in an analysis aiming at working out the comparative significance of the various clans in terms of their status in the military hierarchy of the Mughal Empire. In any case, inadequacy of information on suwār ranks of the nobles should not totally hamper an analysis of this nature. As in the Mughal hierarchy the status of a noble was determined basically by his zāt mansab.[1] A comparative study of the zāt mansab held by the different clans should be considered a sufficient basis for working out their changing fortunes during the period under review. The information furnished in the above lists is given in a tabular form for the purpose of the present discussion. We have prepared two tables 'A' and 'B' in which the comparative strength and position of the individual clan in terms of their numerical strength and the total zāt mansabs held by them in the Mughal service between 1605 and 1611, and 1611 and 1621 is represented.

From the table 'A', it would appear that between 1605 and 1612, the over all position of the Rajput nobles when judged in terms of the numerical strength, registered a decline. Their total strength came down from 31 to 26, while on the other hand, the total of zāt mansabs held by them was pushed up from 58,300 to 66,200.[2] The slight decline in the over all strength of the

1. Athar Ali, The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, p.39.

2. See, Table 'A'.

Rājput nobles indicated in our table cannot be taken as suggesting a deliberate policy of reducing the strength of the Rājputs with the Mughal service. If one takes into account the newly recruited Bundila Chief, Bir Singh Deo,[1] who is counted in our table among the 26 nobles serving during this period, then the net fall in the strength of the Rājput nobles would come up to 5. Among these five nobles who disappeared from the service during 1605-12 without any one from their clans being appointed in their place were Salhadi, Sakat Singh Kachawaha,[2] Rai Rai Singh Rātnor,[3] Mukut Mān Bhaduriya,[4] Bikramajīt Baghela[5] and Kishan Singh Tunwar.[6] The picture that emerges from this break-up does suggest a policy of putting a limit on the recruitment of new nobles from the clans who had perhaps become suspects in Jahāngīr's eyes as a result of their role in the controversy over succession. But this cannot certainly be confused with an ever all policy of discouraging the recruitment of Rājputs in the service. Fresh recruitment or replacement of

---

1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.10.
2. Op. cit.
3. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.106.
4. Op. cit.
5. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.85.
6. Pathal Pothā-re-Khyāt, pages are not mentioned,

deceased chiefs by their heirs belonging to Bundila, Kachawaha, Hāda and Chandrāwat clans,[1] during the same period is an example indicating that during this period Jahāngīr was not averse to taking all those Rājput nobles in the service who were willing to collaborate with the Mughals and whose devotion and loyalty to his own person, he did not have any doubts or misgivings.

This policy of Jahāngīr is borne out more clearly by the break up of the total _zāt mansabs_ held by different clans in 1605 and 1611-12. Firstly, one finds that a number of Rājput nobles holding minor positions in 1605 were given rapid promotions during the subsequent six years. The chiefs who received such promotions belonged to the Pundīr, Bundila, Hāda and Sisodia clans. For instance, Rāja Bāso was raised from 700 to 3500 _zāt_.[2] The rapid promotion of Rāja Bāso is significant. It may be explained in the light of the Rāja's collaboration with Jahāngīr in 1602, when the latter had rebelled against his father Akbar.[3] Rām Chandra Bundila was promoted from 500 to 1000 _zat_.[4] Sagar Sisodia was promoted from 200 to 3000 _zāt_.[5]

---

1. _Op. cit._
2. _Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī_, p.23.
3. De laet, _The Empire of Great Mogol_, p.169.
4. _Mārwār-ra-pargana-re-Vigat_, II, p.492.
5. _Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī_, p.54; _Tazkirat-ul Umarā_, MS. f.141. In the _Rāna Rāsa_, his _mansab_ is mentioned as 5000 _zāt_. But Somani says that it is an exaggeration. _History of Mewar_, 246.

The mansab of Tunwar chief Shyām Singh was increased from 1000 to 1500 zāt.[1] In June 1607, after the death of Rāi Bhoj Hādā who held the mansab of 1000 zāt,[2] his son Ratan Singh was elevated to the higher position of 2000/1500 with the title of Sarbuland Rāy.[3] Jahangir also felicitated Rāo Ratan to assign pargana Mau in in'ām (an assignment without obligation).[4]

Among the fresh recruited nobles of this period the most conspicuous case was that of Bir Singh Deo Bundila. He was defying the imperial authority during the last three years of Akbar's reign, but was taken into the service in 1606, getting the mansab of 5000/2000.[5] Further, after Jahāngīr's accession, when Bir Singh's elder brother Rām Chandra rebelled,[6] he was deprived of his watan jāgīr Orcha and conferred upon Bir Singh Deo.[7] But when in 1607, Rām Chandra submitted, Jahāngīr to ensure his loyalty and support, married his daughter in 1609.[8]

---

1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.37; Tazkirat-ul Umarā, MS. f.141.
2. Tabaqāt-i Akbarī, II, p.455; Iqbālnāma-i Jahāngīrī, p.481; Surya Mal Misra, a court historian of Bundi writing his treatises on the rulers of Bundi exaggerates to say that Bhoj held the mansab of 5000 zāt. Vams Bhaskar, III, p.2290.
3. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp.66, 147.
4. Muhta Nainsi-re-Khyāt, I, p.256.
5. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.100.
6. Ibid., pp.41-42.
7. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.142-43.
8. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.77.

Moreover, it was apparently with an aim to keep a check on the ambitions of his favourite Bīr Singh Deo that Jahāngīr was anxious not only to retain in the service Bīr Singh's brother and his adversary, Rām Chandra but also solaced him by marrying his daughter.

But on the other hand, the mansabs of the chiefs belonging to Chandrāwat, Baghela clans declined for one or another reason. In 1608, after the death of Durga Chandrāwat who held the mansab of 4000 zāt,[1] his successor Chāndu Singh was assigned the mansab of 700 zāt only.[2] The total mansabs of the Baghela chiefs declined marginally from 2100 zāt to 2000 zāt. In 1610, Rāja Bikramajit Baghela who held the mansab of 100 zāt rebelled[3] and was deprived of his mansab which caused a marginal fall in the total mansabs of the Baghelas. The mansab of another Baghela chief was, however, not disturbed. Rām Deo Baghela continued on his mansab of 2000 zāt.[4] Similarly, Rāja Mukut Man Bhaduriya continued on his mansab of 2000 zāt.[5]

---

1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp.63-64.
2. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.212-13.
3. Mārwār-ra-pargana-ra-Vigat, II, pp.491-93; Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.85.
4. Āīn-i Akbarī, I, p.161; Mārwār-ra-Pargana-ra-Vigat, II, 490.
5. Akbarnāma, III, p.834; Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, I, p.234.

Another interesting feature indicated by Table 'A' is the obvious improvement in the position of Kachawāha and Rāthor clans during 1605-12. The total mansabs of the Kachawāhas increased from 29,700 to 30,500 zāt, while those of Rāthors including the chiefs of Jodhpur, Bikāner, Merta and Baglāna went up from 10,300 to 12,500 zāt.[1] But in both these cases the increase in total mansabs is the result of marked rise in the mansabs of the favoured groups or the individuals. A close scrutiny of the changes that came in the position of the individual sub-clans of these two clans would show that side by side with the rise in the mansabs of favoured sub-clans there was a simultaneous fall in the mansabs of the sub-clans that had come to be suspected of having sympathies for Khusrau.

The table indicates that in the Kachawāha clan, the non-Rājāwat nobles, who favoured Jahāngīr's candidature for the throne in 1605, were rewarded. The total mansabs of the non-Rājāwa-t nobles almost doubled from 5,400 to 11,000 zāt.[2] The mansabs of the two Shaikhāwat nobles Rāisal Darbārī and Rāi Manohar were enhanced from 3000 zāt,400 zāt to 5000[3] and 1000 zāt.[4]

---

1. See, Table 'A'.
2. Ibid.
3. Shikhar Vansatpati, p.21.
4. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp.54, 112.

Similarly, Rām Dās Udāwat was promoted from 2000 to 5000 zāt.[1] In addition to this the title of Rāja and Rāja Karan were also bestowed upon Rāisāl Darbārī[2] and Rām Dās Udāwat[3] respectively. This becomes particularly conspicuous when viewed in the light of the fact that the title of Farzand held by Mān Singh[4] was not conferred upon his successor following his death.[5] The mansabs of the members of Rājāwat clan who opposed Jahāngīr's candidature appear to have declined marginally from 24,300 to 19,500 zāt.[6] Partly this fall in their mansabs was the result of Jagannāth's death whose successor was given a comparatively lower mansab.[7] In the case of two of the Rājāwat nobles Sakat Singh and Salhadi who held the mansabs of 1600 zāt[8] and 700 zāt,[9] is not known anything after 1605. These cases together go

---

1. Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, I, p.240; Hawkins, Early Travels in India, p.98.

2. Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, I, p.110.

3. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.98; Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, I, p.240; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, p.156.

4. Akbarnāma, III, p.166.

5. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.130.

6. See, Appendix 'A'.

7. In 1609, after the death of Jagannāth who held the mansab of 5000/3000, his son Karam Chand was given the mansab of 2000/1500. See, Akbarnāma, III, pp.786, 89; Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī, p.474; Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.74; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, I, p.516. For the date of his death, see Vīr Vinod, p.225.

8. Akbarnāma, III, p.835.

9. Ibid., 837; Tazkirat-ul Umarā, f.149.

contributing to the marginal fall in the *mansabs* of the Rājāwats indicated by Table 'A'. But this cannot be interpreted as an attempt on Jahāngīr's part to discard Rājāwats and to push them to a subordinate position to non-Rājāwat sub-clans. On the other hand, withholding the promotions temporarily which were bound to undermine their position within the Kachawāha clan, Jahāngīr continued to prefer the Rājāwat ruling family for the purpose of matrimonial ties. His first Kachawāha wife, a daughter of Bhagwān Dās died in 1605.[1] In 1608, he asked for the hand of one of Mān Singh's grand daughters (a daughter of Jagat Singh). Mān Singh promptly agreed to this proposal and gave his grand daughter in marriage to Jahāngīr,[2] although it was in total disregard of Hindū customary rule prohibiting marriage between a widower and a niece or grand daughter of his deceased wife.

Although, as we have already noticed, the total *mansabs* of the nobles belonging to the ruling family of Bikānēr declined, the increase in the total *mansabs* of the Rāthors was mainly owing to promotions received by the Rāthors of Jodhpur whose *mansabs* increased from 3000 to 5,500 *zāt*.[3] The details of these

---

1. *Akbarnāma*, III, p.826; *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, p.26.
2. *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, p.68.
3. See, Table 'A'.

promotions are as follows: In 1608, the mansabs of Suraj Singh and Kishan Singh were increased from 2000/2000 to 3000/2000[1] and 1000/500 to 2000/1500[2] respectively. Sabal Singh continued on his mansab of 500 zāt.[3] Another Rāthor chief who received promotion was Kesho Dās Māru of Merta. He was raised from 300 zāt to 1500/1500.[4] As against this, one notices a sharp fall in the mansabs of the two Rāthor nobles of Bikāner. Initially, Jahāngīr had promoted Rāi Rāi Singh from 4000 to 5000 zāt.[5] But on his death in 1612, his son Dalpat was given a comparatively lower mansab of 1500/500.[6] One might guess that in giving comparatively lower mansab to Rāi Rāi Singh's successor, Jahāngīr was partly influenced by his suspicion that the chief of Bikāner had sympathised with Khusrau in 1606.[7] Another Rāthor, Pratāp of Baglāna, also did not receive any increment after Jahāngīr's accession and his mansab remained static at 3000 zāt.[8]

---

1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.73.
2. Ibid., p.72.
3. Mārwār-re-Pargana-rā-Vigat, II, p.492; Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.277; Tazkirat-ul Umarā, MS. f.153.
4. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp.9, 37.
5. Ibid., p.23.
6. Ibid., pp.111-12.
7. Ibid., pp.41-42; Jahāngīr's farmān to Rāi Rāi Singh, dated Nov. 1607, RSA Bikāner.
8. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.196.

Thus it could be seen that during this period in respect of the *mansabs*, the Rājputs as a group improved their position. Jahāngīr, particularly showed favour to a particular set of the Rājput nobles who had supported his claim to the throne from the beginning. Those who had opposed him were not given further promotions down to 1612.

However, in respect of offices, the Rājput nobles as a whole suffered heavily. After Mān Singh's removal from the governorship of Bengāl in 1606,[1] none of the Rājput chiefs is known to have been appointed by Jahāngīr as a governor of a *sūba*. In contrast to this, during Akbar's reign, on one occasion (1586-87) as much as six Rājput nobles were simultaneously holding the charges of four contiguous *sūbas*. Bhagwant Dās and Rāi Rāi Singh Rāthor were the governors of *sūba* Lāhore.[2] While Mān Singh and Āskaran Kachawāha were the governors of Kābul and Āgra[3] respectively, Jagannāth and Rāi Durga Chandrāwat were the governors of *sūba* Ajmer.[4] Further, in 1592,

---

1. *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, p.7; *Riāz-us-Salātīn*, p.170; R.P. Tripathi incorrectly says that Mān Singh was transferred from Bengāl to Bihār (*Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire*, pp.367-68). Actually, at this time, Jahāngīr Qulī Khān was the governor of Bihār. *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, p.101.

2. *Akbarnāma*, III, pp.511, 518; *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, II, p.368.

3. *Akbarnāma*, III, p.518; *Ma'āsir-ul Umarā*, II, pp.162-63.

4. *Akbarnāma*, III, pp.511, 518.

Udai Singh Rāthor (Mota Rāja) along with Qulīj Khān was assigned the charge of ṣūba Lāhore.[1] Besides governorships, the Rājput nobles also lost several other important offices which they failed to regain till the end of Jahāngīr's reign. Under Akbar, three important forts, Rohtās, Ranthambhor and Gwālior were held by the Rājput nobles Mān Singh,[2] Jagannāth[3] and Rāj Singh[4] respectively down to 1605. But soon after Jahāngīr's accession all these nobles were removed from the positions they were holding under Akbar. In 1608, when Mān Singh was sent to Deccan, Rohtās had been taken away from his charge.[5] After Jagannāth's death in 1609, Ranthambhor was assigned to Rām Dās Udāwat,[6] but he died in 1613. Subsequently, down to the end of Jahāngīr's reign, none of the Rājput nobles is known to have held the charge of this fort. It was apparently in pursuance of the same policy that in 1614 Rāj Singh was replaced by Shaikh Moda as the commander of Gwālior fort.[7]

---

1. Tabaqāt-i Akbarī, II, p.638.
2. Akbarnāma, tr. III, p.1251, f.n.1; Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.65.
3. Akbarnāma, III, p.825; Muhta Nainsī-re-Khyāt, I, p.301.
4. Akbarnāma, III, pp.764, 825; Tārīkh-i Gwālior, MS. f.22a.
5. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.74.
6. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.98; Iqbālnāma-i Jahāngīrī, 85; Muntakhab-ul Lubāb, I, p.271; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, p.271.
7. Maktūbat-i-Khān-i Jahān Muzaffar Khān-wa-Gwāliornāma, MS. f.159b; Tārīkh-i Gwālior, MS. f.23; Shaikh Moda was brother of Mu'azzam Khān Shaikh Bāyāzid, the grandson of Shaikh Salīm of Fatehpur.

II

The Table 'B' indicates that between 1612 and 1621, the numerical strength of Rājput nobles increased from 26 to 29, while on the other hand in term of total _manṣabs_ held by them the position of the Rājputs declined. Their total _manṣabs_ during this period fell from 66,200 to 60,900 _ẕāt_.[1] As it is shown by a perusal of this table, the increase in absolute strength of the Rājput nobles was the result of fresh recruitments of 9 nobles belonging to the clans of Hāda (1), Sisodia (3), Bhadūrīya (1), Katoch (1) and Rāthor (2) clans. At the same time successors of 6 nobles (including 2 Kachawāhas and one each belonging to Baghela, Bhadūrīya, Dhandhera and Tunwar clans) who died during this period, were not taken into service. The total of the _manṣabs_ of the nobles who died during this phase (13,000 _ẕāt_) was larger than that of the new recruits (8,000 _ẕāt_).[2] This resulted in the marginal fall in the total _manṣabs_ of the Rājput nobles.

In the case of the Kachawāha and Rāthor clans, Jahāngīr appears to have continued the policy that he had adopted in the beginning of his reign which led to a marginal decline in the

---

1. See, Table 'B'.
2. _Supra_.

position of the Kachawāha clan and enabled the Rāthors other than those of Bikāner to improve their position. During the period 1612-21, the number of the Kachawāha chiefs in the Mughal service further declined from 9 to 7. On the other hand, the number of the Rāthor nobles increased from 6 to 8.[1]

A scrutiny of the mansabs held by nobles belonging to different Rājput clans between 1612 and 1621, Jahāngīr by and large followed a policy that adversely affected the position of the clans already in the service. While on the other hand, a number of new clans were recruited in the service for the first time under Jahāngīr which did not allow the position of the Rājputs as such to suffer a sizable decline in total mansabs. The following cases of fresh recruitments accounting for this situation deserve to be mentioned. The fresh recruits Anūp Singh Badgujar, Rāja Sangrām and Debī Chand, who were taken in the service, were assigned the mansabs of 2000/1600,[2] 1500/1000[3] and 1500/500[4] respectively. Among these newly recruited nobles, the most favourite was Badgujar chief Anūp Singh who had saved Jahāngīr from a furious tiger.[5] In addition to mansab, he was

---

1. See Table 'B'.
2. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.266.
3. Ibid., p.314.
4. Ibid., p.304.
5. Ibid., pp.89-90; Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, pp.52-3.

granted a pargana Anūp Shahr in the sarkār of Kol as watan and was also given the title of Anī Rāi Singh Dalān.[1] Moreover, he came to be trusted by Jahāngīr so much that he was appointed by the King as the qil'adār of Gwālior fort and Prince Khusrau was put in that fort under his custody.[2]

One of the ways in which Jahāngīr contributed to the decline in the strength of the clans continuing in the Mughal service since Akbar's time was that he did not enrol as mansabdārs the successors of many of the ordinary Rājput nobles, not belonging to the ruling families of Āmber, Jodhpur, Bundī, Bikāner and Jaisalmer. It is illustrated by the following examples: After the deaths of three senior nobles Rām Deo Baghela (d. 1618 AD), Rāja Jagman Dhandhera (d. 1613 AD) and Shyām Singh Tunwar (d. 1617 AD), who held the mansabs of 2000 zāt,[3] 1,000 zāt[4] and 1500 zāt[5] respectively, none of their successors are known to have been assigned mansabs. About

---

1. See Chapter IV on Watan Jāgīr.
2. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp.273, 308.
3. Āīn-i Akbarī, I, p.161; Vīr Vinod, 556.
4. Akbarnāma, III, p.832; Iqbālnāma-i Jahāngīrī, p.504; Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.118.
5. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.37; Tazkirat-ul Umarā, f.141.

Mukut Man Bhadūrīya who held the mansab of 2000[1] in 1612, nothing is known while his successor Bikramajīt Bhadūrīya seems to be in the imperial service but one does not know about his mansab. In 1614, Bikramajīt was sent with Prince Khurram against Rāna Amar Singh of Mewār. However, Bikramajīt died in 1617 AD.[2] Another cause of decline noticeable in the position of the entrenched clans was the policy of giving to begin with a lower mansab to the successor of a chief which would, apparently, conformed to the income of the watan inherited by him.[3] The following cases of this nature can be cited : (a) In 1614, after the death of Rāja Bāso Pundīr, chief of Mau who held the mansab of 3500 zāt, his successor Suraj Mal was given the lower mansab of 2000/2000 with the title of Rāja.[4] In 1618, Suraj Mal revolted and was replaced by his younger brother Jagat Singh who was granted the mansab of only 1000/500;[5] (b) In 1616, death occurred of Rāwal Bhīm Bhātī who held the mansab of 3000 zāt. His successor, Kalyān Singh was assigned the mansab of 2000/1000.[6]

---

1. Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, I, p.234.
2. Lāhorī, Bādshāhnāma, I, p.166; Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, MS. f.108a; Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.192.
3. M. Athar Ali, 'Professional Advancement of the Mughal Nobility paper presented at the Annual Session of American Association of Asian Studies, 1979.
4. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp.166, 254.
5. Ibid., p.264. Shaikh Farīd Bhakkarī says that he was given the mansab of 1000/1000. Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, II, p.387.
6. Bhātīnāma, cited in the Vīr Vinod, II, p.1763; Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp.159, 163.

Further, Jahāngīr seems to have followed a policy of showing special favour to those Rājput chiefs who either held lesser positions since Akbar's reign or were taken into service only after Jahāngīr's accession. Among the Hādas, for example, another member of the ruling family of Bundī, Hirday Narāin was taken in the service with the mansab of 1200/600.[1] Similarly, the mansabs of the Bundila chiefs rose to 5600/5400[2] which are accounted for by the increase in mansab of newly recruited Bir Singh Bundila. Bir Singh was the first Bundila chief who reached the status of 5000/5000.[3] He was also felicitated with the title of Mahārāja[4] and was assigned a large territory in jāgīr in the central India.[5] This would have given him effective control over the route which led to the Deccan. But at the same time, the mansab of Bir Singh's rival among Bundilas declined. In 1618, after the death of Rām Chandra Bundila who held the mansab of 1000 zāt, his successor Bhārat was given the lower mansab of 600/400.[6]

---

1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.322; Tazkirat-ul Umarā, MS., f.158.

2. See Table 'B'.

3. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.306; Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, II, p.364.

4. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.306.

5. Muhta Nainsi-re-Khyāt, I, pp.127-28. K.K. Trivedi, 'Rajput Clans in the Mughal Nobility - The Bundila Case', PIHC, 1977.

6. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.271.

During this period, the mansabs of the Sisodias rose up vertically. In 1615, after taking up the Mughal service by Rāna Amar Singh of Mewār, their mansabs increased from 3000/1000 to 14000/8200.[1] Rāna Amar Singh was assigned the mansab of 5000/1000.[2] In the case of the Sisodia chief, Jahāngīr had made many exceptions in the Mughal policy towards the Rājputs. Amar Singh was exempted from rendering military service personally. He was allowed to depute his heir-apparent with 1000 horsemen to serve under Jahāngīr.[3] Besides, two more members of the Sisodia ruling family, Kunwar Karan and Shyām Singh were taken into service with the mansabs of 5000/5000[4] and 2500/1400[5] respectively. But in 1618, after the death of Sagar Sisodia, who held the mansab of 3000/2000, his son Mān Singh was assigned the lower rank of 1500/800,[6] while Chandra Singh Chandrāwat of Rāmpura continued in his mansab of 700 zāt.[7]

---

1. Compare the Tables 'A' and 'B'.
2. Muhta Nainsi-re-Khyāt, I, p.29; Amar Singh died in 1619 AD.
3. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp.273-77; Muhta Nainsi-re-Khyāt, I, p.30; Vīr Vinod, II, pp.237-38.
4. Jahāngīr's farmān to Karan, reproduced in Vīr Vinod, II, 240-49; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.203-4.
5. Ibid., p.138.
6. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.310; Tazkirat-ul Umarā, MS. f.157.
7. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.147-48.

Rāwat Megh Singh on account of his personal grudge against Rāna Amar Singh joined the Mughal service with the mansab of 400/200.[1] He was deputed with Rāja Vikramajit to put down the rebels in Kāngara. Rāwat Megh Singh's son Narhar Dās was also granted the mansab of 80/20.[2] From Prince Khurram's nishān, dated 1027 AH/1618 AD, to Rāwat Megh Singh, it appears that the Rāwat failed to join Vikramajit in Kāngra. Consequently, Jahāngīr ordered to cease the mansab and jāgīr of the Rāwat. But on Kunwar Bhim's assurance to Prince Khurram for early arrival of the Rāwat his mansab and jāgīr were not ceased.[3] Rāwat Megh Singh seems to have been promoted to 500/250. Besides his brother whose name is not mentioned in Jahāngīr's farmān, was granted the mansab of 60/20.[4] Other three persons who were attached to the command of the Rāwat were Phul Dās, Hari Dās and Paras Rām. Each of them was given the mansab of 20 zāt.[5] But Rāwat Megh Singh and others did not go to Kāngra; therefore, they were dispossessed from their mansabs and jāgīrs.[6]

---

1. Shyāmal Dās has reproduced Jahāngīr's farmān to Rāwat Megh Singh. It is translated into Hindi. See, Vīr Vinod, p.252.
2. Ibid.
3. For Prince Khurram's nishān to Rāwat Megh Singh, see, Vīr Vinod, pp.253-64.
4. For Jahāngīr's farmān to Rāwat Megh Singh, see, Vīr Vinod, pp.253-64.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.

The total *mansabs* of the Kachawāha chiefs, in this period, fell from 30,500/13,500 to 13,200/6,450 while those of the Rāthor chiefs increased from 11,500/5,500 to 15,700/7,450.[1] It is significant that this fall in the *mansabs* is discernible in case of the Rajawat as well as non-Rājawat nobles. The *mansabs* of the Rājāwats and non-Rājawats came down from 19,500/11,500 to 11,500/5,100 and 11,000/10,800 to 1,300/1,200[2] respectively. For this it would appear that the fall in the *mansabs* of the Rājāwat nobles was only marginal; apparently the bulk of the reduction in the total *mansabs* of the clan was caused by the removal from the scene one prominent non-Rājāwat noble Rām Dās Udāwat. After Jahāngīr's accession Rām Dās Udāwat became his favourite and reached the status of *panjhazārī mansabdār*.[3] But his role in the expedition against Malik Ambar in 1611 annoyed Jahāngīr.[4] After his death in 1613, none of his successors is reported as having received a *mansab*. Moreover, on the death of two other senior non-Rājāwat nobles, their successors were given reduced *mansabs*. These nobles were Rāisāl Darbārī and Rāi Manohar who died between 1612 and 1621. While

---

1. Compare the Tables 'A' and 'B'.
2. For the *mansabs* of the Rājāwat and non-Rājawat nobles, see, List No. 'B' and 'C'.
3. *Op. cit.*
4. *Ma'āsir-ul Umarā*, II, pp.156-57.

Wisāl Darbāri's son Girdhar Das was given the mansab of 1200/900,[1] Prithvi Rāj, son of Rāi Manohar got the mansab of 700/450.[2] On the other hand, marginal fall in the total mansabs of the Rājāwat nobles was caused by the deaths of Mān Singh (7000/7000), Maha Singh (4000/3000) and Rāj Singh (3500/3000). But their successors were taken into service with reduced mansabs which partly made up for the total fall caused by the deaths of the three senior Rājāwat nobles. By the end of 1621, their successors Bhāo Singh, Jai Singh and Rām Dās Narwari had attained the mansabs of 5000/3000,[3] 1000/1000[4] and 1500/700[5] respectively. Karam Chand continued on his mansab of 2000/1000.[6]

The increase in the mansabs of the Rāthor clan took place because of the fresh recruitments of 100 Rathor nobles and the increases in the mansabs of senior Rāthor nobles already in the service from the beginning of the reign. Karam Sen Rāthor[7] was

1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.332.

2. Ibid., p.239; Tazkirat-ul Umarā, MS. f.133.

3. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.184; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, III, p.361; Tazkirat-ulUmarā, MS. f.133.

4. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.192; According to Shāh Nawāz Khān, he held the mansab of 1000/500. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, III, p.568.

5. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, p.172.

6. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.74; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, I, p.516; Tazkirat-ul Umarā, MS. f.155.

7. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.143.

taken in the service with the _mansab_ of 1000/300.[1] The _mansabs_ of the senior Rāthor nobles, Pratāp of Baglāna, and Keshu Dās Māru of Merta were enhanced from 3000 _zāt_ and 1500/1000 to 4000 _zāt_[2] and 2000/1200.[3] Further, one notices that after Dalpat, the chief of Bikāner (_m._ 1500/1000), rebelled and was killed in 1614, his successor Suraj Singh attained the _mansab_ of 2000/2000.[4] But in the case of Rāthor chiefs of Jodhpur, one notices a marginal fall in the _mansabs_ which came down from 5,500/3,725 to 5000/2,750.[5] This fall occurred because of the death of Kishan Singh (_m._ 2000/1500) in 1615 and the assignment of a minor _mansab_ of 500/225 to his successor Jagmāl.[6] But in the case of the main line of the ruling family of Jodhpur, did not follow the policy of giving considerably reduced _mansabs_ to the successor of a deceased chief, which did not allow the fall in the total _mansabs_ of the Rāthors considerably. For example, after the death of Suraj Singh who held the _mansab_ of 3000/2000 in 1612, his successor Gaj Singh was also assigned the same

---

1. _Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī_, p.143.
2. _Ibid._, p.203.
3. _Ibid._, p.192.
4. _Ibid._, p.126.
5. Compare the Tables 'A' and 'B'.
6. _Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī_, p.277; _Tazkirat-ul Umarā_, MS. f.150.

*manṣab* of 2000/2000.[1] Another Rāthor noble, belonging to the main line of the ruling family, Sabal Singh continued to hold a *manṣab* of 500/225 throughout this period.[2]

III

As we have noticed, during the period 1612-1621 AD, the position of the Rājput nobles in the Mughal service declined in terms of the *manṣabs* held by them. But on the other hand, the list of Shāh Jahān's *manṣabdārs* furnished by Lāhorī shows that by the 10th R.Y. of Shāh Jahān's reign (i.e. 1637), the total *manṣabs* of the Rājput nobles were more than the figure for the years 1605-12.[3] This would suggest that the Rājput nobles were able to regain their lost position and improved it further during the intervening period of 1621-1637. It is, of course, obvious that partly this improvement in their

---

1. *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, p.73; *Vīr Vinod*, 817; *Jodhpur-re-Khyāt*, I, pp.122, 150; *Ma'āsir-ul Umarā*, II, pp.223-25. In G.D. Sharma's book, his *manṣab* is mentioned as 3000/200 which is obviously a slip of pen. *Rajput Polity*, p.40.

2. *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, p.277; *Mārwār-re-Pargana-re-Vigat*, II, p.492; *Tazkirat-ul Umarā*, MS. f.153.

3. In 1612, the Rājput nobles held the total *manṣabs* of 69,700/24,940 while in 1637, the total *manṣabs* of the Rajput nobles were 80,350/58,280. For reference, see Table 'B' of this chapter and Table 'A' of the next chapter.

position was the result of new appointments and increases ordered by Shàh Jahān after his coming to the throne. But partly at least the ground for this improvement must have been prepared as a result of the developments of the last six years of Jahāngīr's reign. It can be imagined that the cleavage which occurred between Jahāngīr and his son Shāh Jahān helped the Rājput nobles to improve their position; both the sides tried to win over the Rājput nobles by showing them favours. Similarly, when Mahābat Khān fell out with Nūr Jahān and captured the central government for a brief period in 1626, he also, like Shāh Jahān, tried to secure his own position by showing favours to some of the Rājput nobles.

On the whole, it seems, during the last six years of his reign, Jahāngīr went out of his way in ensuring that the chiefs of the more important clans in his service remained placated. This is reflected in mansab promotions and titles received by them during this period. During 1623, Jahāngīr bestowed the title of 'Mahārāja' upon his favourite Bundila chief, Bir Singh Deo, who had already reached the mansab of 5000/5000.[1] At the same time, Bir Singh's son Jujhār Singh was given the mansab of 2000/1000[2] and by the end of Jahāngīr's reign, Jujhār Singh had

1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.356.

2. Ibid.

already been raised to 4000/4000.[1] During the same time, another Bundila chief Bhārat Singh was promoted from 1500/1000 to 3000/2000.[2] Apparently, Jahāngīr was going out of his way to placate the Bundila chiefs who controlled a strategically placed territory on the route to Burhānpur. This was the first occasion when any Rajput chief was given the exalted title of maharāja by the Mughal Emperor and moreover, it is also the only occasion when Jahāngīr preferred to bestow this title on any one of his nobles.

During the same period (1621-1627 AD) a number of Kachawāhas also improved their positions, the mansabs of three of them were enhanced. Kachawāha chief Jai Singh's mansab was increased from 2000/1000 to 4000/3000.[3] Rām Dās Narwarī was promoted from 1500/700 to 2000/1000.[4] Rāja Girdhar was raised from 1200/900 to 2000/1500.[5] As a matter of fact, during this period, Jahāngir appears to be very anxious to keep his Kachawāha nobles in good humour. This is borne by an episode recorded by Jahāngīr

---

1. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.214-15.
2. Ibid., pp.212-14.
3. Jahāngīr's farmān to Jai Singh, RSA Bikaner; Mārwār-re-Pargana-re-Vigat, I, p.493.
4. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.358.
5. Ibid., p.356; Tazkirat-ul Umarā, MS. f.143.

himself. In 1623, while the imperial army was pursuing Shâh Jahān in Gujarat, there arose a quarrel between the Sayyids of Bārha and the retainers of Girdhar Kachawāha. In the scuffle that ensued, Girdhar and his twenty six retainers were killed. As a punishment for this killing, Sayyid Kabir, a member of the powerful clan of Saādat-i Bārha was executed.[1] It is correctly noticed by Athar Ali that the Mughal rulers ordinarily avoided executing an officer of the state.[2] In this light, the decision of Mahābat Khān, the noble who was in command of the army to execute Sayyid Kabir on the insistence of the Rājputs and Jahāngīr's reference to this episode in the Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī in a manner suggesting his approval of the difficult decision that his commander had to take, goes to indicate the significance that was attached by the King and the nobles cooperating with them at this time, to the willing cooperation of the Rājput nobles with royalists. In pursuance of the same policy, the leading members of the Rāthor clan were also felicitated by increasing their mansabs. Rāja Gaj Singh of Jodhpur was promoted from 3000/2000 to 5000/5000[3] while Suraj Singh Rāthor of Bikāner was raised from 2000/2000 to 3000/2000.[4]

---

1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp.374-75. Though we do not come across the mansab of Sayyid Kabir but from the passage of Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī (pp.374-75), it is known that Sayyid Kabir maintained troopers under his command.
2. M. Athar Ali, Presidential Address, PIHC, 1972, p.182.
3. Lāhorī, Bādshāhnāma, I, p.158; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, I, p.571.
4. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.211-12.

Further, to strengthen the relations with the ruling families of Jodhpur and Āmber, Jahāngīr established new matrimonial ties with them. In March 1624, Prince Parwiz married the sister of Rāja Gaj Singh.[1] In 1625, Prince Dāwar Bakhsh married the sister of Rāja Jai Singh.[2]

The Hāda chief Sarbuland Rāy became the favourite of Jahāngīr for the loyal services rendered by him since the beginning of his reign. He stood firmly on Jahāngīr's side during Shāh Jahān's revolt. In a skirmish with Shāh Jahān's forces at Burhānpur, Sarbuland Rāy, who was posted there as hākim, distinguished himself.[3] His son Gopi Nāth, who chose to flee from the battle field, was disowned by him.[4] Finally, when the imperial forces succeeded in overcoming rebels in the Deccan, as a reward for his royal services, Sarbuland Rāy was promoted from 2500/1500 to 5000/5000 with the title of 'Rām Rāy' which was considered the highest honour in the Deccan.[5] Moreover,

---

1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.380; Mārwār-re-Pargana-re-Vigat, I,108.
2. Akhbārāt, 20th R.Y., J.N. Sarkar's Collection, Calcutta, pp.2-4. I owe this reference to Mr Iqtidar Alam Khan.
3. Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, II, pp.195-96.
4. Ibid.
5. Ahwāl-i Shāhzādagi-i Shāh Jahān, p.67; Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, II, pp.195-96; Bānke Dās-re-Khyāt, p.145. For mansab of 5000, see also Delaet, The Empire of Great Mogol, p.38.

during this period, Sarbuland Rāy's son Mādho Singh and his brother Hirday Narāin enjoyed the _mansabs_ of 1000/600[1] and 1200/600[2] respectively.

Another Rājput clan which came to prominence during this period and earned the confidence of the imperial authority was the Bhaduriyas controlling the _parganas_ Chandawar, Hatkant and Rapri in the vicinity of Agra as their _zamīndārī_.[3] Bhaduriyas, according to Farīd Bhakkarī, were known as the "protectors of the fort of Akbarabad". When in 1623, taking advantage of Jahangir's absence from Āgra, Shāh Jahān advanced against the capital, Bhoj Bhaduriya came forward to check him. He sent a message to Shāh Jahān saying, "The wealth, country, fort and treasury belong to the Prince, but so long as Emperor Jahāngīr is alive, he cannot take possession of these".[4] The stout opposition of the Bhadūrīya chief, apparently forced Shāh Jahān to withdraw from Āgra without making an attempt to occupy it

1. Lāhorī, _Bādshāhnāma_, I, p.184; _Ma'āsir-ul Umarā_, III, 453.
2. _Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī_, p.322; _Tazkirat-ul Umarā_, f.158.
3. _Āīn-i Akbarī_, I, pp.443-44; _Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn_, MS.f.108a.
4. _Ibid_. Bhaduriya chief who played this role was not Bikramajit as mentioned by Shaikh Farīd Bhakkarī, but he was Bikramajit's son Bhoj Bhaduriya. Bikramajit had died in 1617 AD. _Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī_, p.192.

on this occasion. This attitude of the Bhadūrīya chief suggests that around this time, he was close to Jahāngīr and for his unflinching loyalty to the Mughal ruling family enjoyed the fullest trust and confidence of the king. Farīd Bhakkarī's statement ascribing to Bhadūrīya's role of protectors of the fort of Akbarabād might be interpreted as indicating the degree of reliance that Jahāngīr used to place on their support. It is significant that Bhoj Bhaduriya's firm stand in support of Jahāngīr on this occasion did not earn the entire Bhadūrīya clan Shāh Jahān's hostility. Shāh Jahān, apparently, understood the logic of Bhoj's stand that he was duty bound to be loyal to the reigning Emperor. As we shall see in the next chapter, Shāh Jahān after his accession continued his father's policy of favouring Bhadūrīyas, though it is true, under Shāh Jāhan one does not hear of Bhoj any more.

At the time of Shāh Jahān's revolt, Ani Rāi Singh Dalān Badguzdar, who was favourite of Jahāngīr, was on the North-Eastern frontier at Ghazni to fight with the Uzbeks.[1] Next year in 1625, he was appointed to seize the fort of Kāngra.[2] In 1626, when Jahāngīr came to know that twenty two lakh rupees

1. Ma'āsir-i Jahāngīrī, p.401.

2. Ibid., p.423.

were being carried from Bengāl to be handed over to Mahābat Khān, who was in Thatta, he deputed Ani Rāi Singh Dalān, Safdar Khān, Sipahdār Khān and others to seize the treasury. At Shahbād, Ani Rāi Singh and his associates succeeded to seize the treasury.[1] However, Ani Rāi Singh attained the rank of 3000 zāt.[2] But after Shāh Jahān's accession, he submitted to him at Akbarabād.[3]

Further, Pundir chief Jagat Singh of Mau rebelled twice between the period from 1621 to 1627, even then he secured promotions in his mansab. Initially, Jagat Singh rebelled in favour of Prince Shāh Jahān but his revolt was crushed and he rejoined the imperial service.[4] Again in 1626, when Jahangir was in Kābul, Jagat Singh left the imperial service and fled to his watan Mau. However, the imperial forces forced him to submit to the king.[5] Despite these revolts, Jagat Singh was able to improve his position from 1000/500 to 3000/2000.[6]

---

1. Ma'āsir-i Jahāngīrī, pp.460, 462.
2. Pelsaert, p.53.
3. Ma'āsir-i Jahāngīrī, p.492.
4. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.376; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.238-39.
5. Ma'āsir-i Jahāngīrī, 447.
6. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.238-39.

Towards the end of Jahāngīr's reign, when Mahābat Khān fell out with Nūr Jahān and captured the central government for a brief period in 1626, he also tried to secure his position by showing favours to some of the Rājput nobles. There are extant interesting farmāns of Jahāngīr of the period when he was under Mahābat Khān's control which suggests that Mahābat Khān was trying to cultivate relations with Jai Singh of Āmber and Suraj Singh Rāthor of Bikāner. From two of these farmāns, dated January 1625 and August 1625 addressed to Suraj Singh[1] and Jai Singh[2], it seems that both the chiefs did not fully approve of Mahābat Khān's removal from the Deccan and were tardy in extending cooperation to Khān-i Jahān Lodī who was replaced as the commandant at Burhānpur. At this time, apparently Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān on their part were anxious to secure the cooperation of the Rājput nobles in the impending tussle with Mahābat Khān. They tried to persuade them to help Khān-i Jahān Lodī. Jahāngīr, even goes to the extent of threatening them with dire consequences including dismissal from the imperial service if they would fail to extend full cooperation to the new commander.[3]

---

1. Jahāngīr's farmān to Suraj Singh, RSA Bikaner, N.51.
2. Jahāngīr's farmān to Jai Singh, RSA Bikaner, N.172.
3. Jahāngīr's farmāns to Jai Singh and Suraj Singh, RSA Bikaner, Ns. 7, 52.

About the same time Nūr Jahān also wrote to Jai Singh a letter urging upon him to cooperate with Khān-i Jahān Lodī.[1] Subsequently, Jai Singh remained with Khān-i Jahān and cooperated with him which earned him a khilat from the Empress in December 1625.[2] However, throughout this time Jai Singh and Suraj Singh appear to have been on the best of terms with Mahābat Khān. The latter, soon after taking Jahāngīr into prison in March 1626, had issued farmāns to Jai Singh and Suraj Singh Rāthor in which the king was made to place on record the 'favourable reports' made by Mahābat Khān regarding their roles in the Deccan.[3] It was clearly a friendly gesture on the part of Mahābat Khān aimed at further strengthening the bond of friendship and understanding between them. From the fact that these nobles were not reported to have made any move during this period, showing their resentment over Mahābat Khān's action suggest that these overtures of the latter were not entirely fruitless. On the other hand, when Mahābat Khān stayed at Ranthambhor on his way to Kābul from Deccan, Sisodia chief Rāna Karan extended help of one thousand troopers to the former.[4]

---

1. Nur Jahān's nishān to Jai Singh, RSA Bikaner, N.172.
2. Ibid.
3. Jahāngīr's farmāns to Jai Singh and Suraj Singh, RSA Bikaner, Ns. 53, 11 and 61.
4. Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, II, p.132.

But after the failure of coup d'etat, when Mahābat Khān reached Mewār, Rāna Karan became indifferent to Mahābat Khān.[1] One may presume that the Rājput chiefs by and large cooperated with Mahābat Khān in running of the routine administration as long as the king was under his control. But after the collapse of Mahābat Khān's attempted coup d'etat, the Rājput chiefs drew back from him and switched over their support to the new focus of imperial authority controlled by Nūr Jahān.

On the other hand, Shāh Jahān also realised that by wining over some of the senior chiefs to his side, he would greatly strengthen his position. He tried to gain their active support, but was not very successful. In April 1626, when Jahāngīr was under the custody of Mahābat Khān, Shāh Jahān made a futile attempt to persuade Jai Singh to join him. He addressed a letter to Jai Singh wherein emphasising the ties of kinship between them, he sought the latter's help.[2] Later, in June 1626, while Shāh Jahān was on his way to Thatta via Jodhpur, he contacted his Rāthor-in-laws to gain their support. He sent his Rāthor wife to Jodhpur to persuade her relations to help Shāh Jahān in the impending struggle for the throne. But his

---

1. Iqbālnāma-i Jahāngīrī, p.255; Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, II, pp.141-42.

2. Shāh Jahān's letter to Jai Singh, RSA Bikaner, N.173; Shāh Jahān addressed Jai Singh as khālu because Shāh Jahān's step mother was the sister of Jai Singh.

endeavours towards this end were not very successful.[1] He could muster the active support of only two chiefs. Jagat Singh Pundir and Jagmāl Rāthor who held the <u>mansabs</u> of 1000/500[2] and 500/225[3] respectively. Other staunch supporters of Shāh Jahān among Rājput chiefs were Bhim Sisodia, Gopāl Dās Gaur and Bal Rām Gaur. It seems Bhim Sisodia did not hold any <u>mansab</u> in the imperial service, he was apparently enrolled directly in Shāh Jahān's contingent as one of the officers of the Prince some time prior to the battle of Bilochpur. He distinguished himself in the battle of Bilochpur and as a reward, Shah Jahan granted him the <u>mansab</u> of 5000/5000 with the title of 'Maharaja'.[4] Before Bhim Sisodia was killed in the battle of Tons, he had acquired the status of 6000/5000 in Shah Jahan's service.[5] Regarding Gaur chiefs Gopal Das and his son Bal Ram it is known that they were in service of Sarbuland Ray Hada before they joined Shah Jahan.[6] They were, however, quite close to Shah Jahan during this time. In March 1624, Shah Jahan appointed

---

1. <u>Marwar-re-Pargana-re-Vigat</u>, I, p.111.

2. <u>Tuzuk-i Jahangiri</u>, p.264.

3. <u>Tazkirat-ul Umara</u>, f.150; <u>Vir Vinod</u>, p.526.

4. <u>Ahwal-i Shahzadgi-i Shah Jahan</u>, pp.52, 62; Lahori, <u>Badshah-nama</u>, I, p.123.

5. <u>Baharistan-i Ghaybi</u>, tr., pp.737, 759.

6. <u>Tuzuk-i Jahangiri</u>, p.371.

Gopal Das as commandant of the fort of Asir.[1] Gopal Das and Bal Ram were killed in Thatta in course of a skirmish with the forces of local zamindars.[2] After their deaths, Siv Ram, son of Gopal Das and Bethal Das, son of Bal Ram were enrolled in Shah Jahan's service and continued to serve Shah Jahan down to his accession.[3] They emerged as influential Rajput nobles during Shah Jahan's reign.

Further, Shah Jahan's revolt caused split in the ruling Rajput clans. In case of the Ujjainya clan, one finds that in September 1624, when Shah Jahan was in Bihar, Narayan Mal and his brother Pratap joined Shah Jahan's service with the mansabs of 5000/5000 and 3000/2000[4] respectively. Other brothers of Narayan Mal were given the total mansab of 2000/1000.[5] But later on Narayan Mal's brother Satrajit and his certain son defected to the imperial side.[6] While in reverse, the Bundila chief Bir Singh Deo was devoted to Jahangir

---

1. Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, p,371.
2. Ahwal-i Shahzadgi-i Shah Jahan, pp.71-72; Lahori, Badshah-nama, I, p.124.
3. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.250-25; 263-64.
4. Baharistan-i Ghaybi, tr. p.722; Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri, pp.221-22.
5. Baharistan-i Ghaybi, tr. p.722.
6. Ibid., 779.

but his son Pahar Singh had joined Shah Jahan when he was in Bihar with a large contingent.[1] He was induced to take up this step on account of his quarrel with his father Bir Singh Deo Bundila. Pahar Singh was given the mansab of 5000/5000 by Shah Jahan[2] and one of his younger brothers who had accompanied him was assigned the mansab of 3000/2000.[3] Three other brothers of Pahar Singh, who had also joined Shah Jahan, were granted the total mansab of 2000/1000.[4] In October 1624, after the battle of Tons in which Shah Jahan was defeated, Pahar Singh defected to the imperial side.[5]

Similarly, in case of the Kachawaha and Rathor clans, the chiefs of these clans Raja Jai Singh Kachawaha and Gaj Singh Rathor supported Jahangir while lesser important members of their clans joined Shah Jahan. In the Kachawaha clan, Manrup Kachawaha who did not hold any mansab during this period backed Shah Jahan.[6] In the Rathor clan, Prithvi Raj, Bhim and Akhey Raj who also did not hold any mansab sided with Shah Jahan.[7]

---

1. Baharistan-i Ghaybi, tr. pp.732-33.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p.761; Ahwal-i Shahzadgi-i Shah Jahan, p.62.
6. Lahori, Badshahnama, I, pp.122-23; Ma'asir-ul Umara, I, 516.
7. Ahwal-i Shahzadgi-i Shah Jahan, pp.62-63; Baharistan-i Ghaybi, tr. p.755.

Thus, it emerges that during the first six years of his reign, Jahāngīr, over all, adopted liberal policy towards the Rājput nobility which enabled the Rājput nobles to improve their positions in regard of the mansabs. Jahāngīr was much more liberal towards those Rājput chiefs who supported his claim to the throne. Though, apparently, Jahangir did not punish the Rājput chiefs who opposed his succession but certainly he restrained to give them further promotions. In assignment of offices, Rājput nobles suffered heavily.

Between 1612 and 1621, the total mansabs of the Rājput chiefs declined. During this period, after the deaths of the senior nobles, either their successors were not taken in the imperial service or the successors who were taken in the service were assigned lower mansabs. But within the Rājput nobility, Jahāngīr felicitated to those Rājput chiefs who were recruited in the imperial service after his accession.

Towards the end of Jahāngīr's reign, Shāh Jahān's revolt and the tussle between Nūr Jahān and Mahābat Khān paved the way for the Rājput chiefs to improve their position. In these crises, the important Rājput chiefs backed Jahāngīr to put down the revolts but a few who either enjoyed lesser status in the Mughal hierarchy or the Rājput chiefs who did not hold mansabs, supported Shāh Jahān.

Table 'A'

MANSABS HELD BY THE RĀJPUT CLANS IN 1605 A.D. AND IN 1611-12 A.D.

| S.No. | Clan | Number of Nobles in 1604-5 | Mansabs 1604-5 | Number of Nobles in 1611-12 | Mansabs 1611-12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Kachawaha | 11 | 29,700 | 9 | 30,500 |
| 2. | Rathor | 7 | 10,800 | 6 | 11,500 |
| 3. | Bhaduriya | 2 | 4,000 | 1 | 2,000 |
| 4. | Baghela | 2 | 2,100 | 1 | 2,000 |
| 5. | Chandrawat | 1 | 4,000 | 1 | 700 |
| 6. | Bhati | 1 | 3,000 | 1 | 3,000 |
| 7. | Tunwar | 2 | 1,300 | 1 | 1,500 |
| 8. | Hada | 1 | 1,000 | 1 | 1,500 |
| 9. | Dhandhera | 1 | 1,000 | 1 | 1,000 |
| 10. | Pundir | 1 | 700 | 1 | 3,500 |
| 11. | Bundila | 1 | 500 | 2 | 6,000 |
| 12. | Sisodia | 1 | 200 | 1 | 3,000 |
| | | 31 | 58,300 | 26 | 66,200 |

Table 'B'

MANSABS OF THE RĀJPUT CLANS IN 1620-21*

| S.No. | Clan | Number of Nobles | Mansab |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rathor | 8 | 15,700/7,450 |
| 2. | Kachawaha | 7 | 13,200/6,450 |
| 3. | Sisodia | 4 | 14,000/8,200 |
| 4. | Bundila | 2 | 5,600/5,400 |
| 5. | Hada | 2 | 3,700/2,100 |
| 6. | Bhati | 1 | 2,000/1,000 |
| 7. | Badgujar | 1 | 2,000/1,600 |
| 8. | Jamwal | 1 | 1,500/1,000 |
| 9. | Katoch | 1 | 1,500/ 500 |
| 10. | Pundir | 1 | 1,000/ 500 |
| 11. | Chandrawat | 1 | 700 |
| | | 29 | 60,900/34,200 |

* For the mansab of individual chief and source, see appendices.

Appendix 'A'

MANSABS HELD BY THE ALIVE RĀJPUT CHIEFS IN 1611-12 A.D.

KACHAWĀHAS

| S.No. | Name | Mansab | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Raja Man Singh | 7000/6000 | A.N., III, p.839. |
| 2. | Madho Singh | 3000/2000 | Ibid., p.821. |
| 3. | Rai Sal Darbari Shaikhawat | 5000 | Shikhar Vansotpat, p.21. |
| 4. | Maha Singh | 2000/2000 | A.N., III, p.839; Tuzuk, p.7. |
| 5. | Ram Das Udawat | 5000 | Z.K., I, p.240. |
| 6. | Bhao Singh | 1500 | Tuzuk, p.10; M.U., III, p.360. |
| 7. | Rai Manohar Shaikhawat | 1000/1000 | Tuzuk, p.112. |
| 8. | Karam Chand s/o Jagannath | 2000/1500 | Tuzuk, p.74; M.U., I, p.516. |
| 9. | Raj Singh | 4000/3000 | M.U., II, pp.171-72. |

RĀTHORS

| S.No. | Name | Mansab | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Suraj Singh of Jodhpur | 3000/2000 | Tuzuk, p.73; V.V., II, p.817. |
| 2. | Kesho Das Maru of Merta | 1500/1000 | Tuzuk, pp.9, 37. |
| 3. | Sabal Singh s/o Mota Raja | 500/ 225 | Ibid., p.277; T.U., f.153. |
| 4. | Kishan Singh s/o Mota Raja | 2000/1500 | Tuzuk, p.72; T.U., f.155. |
| 5. | Dalpat s/o Rai Singh | 1500/1000 | Tuzuk, p.111. |
| 6. | Pratap or Baharjiv of Baglana | 3000 | Tuzuk, p.196. |

## BUNDILAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Bir Singh Deo | 5000/2000 | Tuzuk, p.100. |
| 2. | Ram Chandra | 1000 | Vigat, II, p.492. |

## PUNDIRS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Raja Basu | 3500 | Tuzuk, p.23. |

## SISODIAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rana Sagar | 3000/1000 | Tuzuk, p.34; T.U., f.141. |

## BHATIS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rawal Bhim of Jaisalmer | 3000 | Bhatinama, referred in V.V., II, p.1763. |

## BAGHELAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Ram Deo Baghela | 2000 | Ain, I, p.161; Died in 1618 A.D., V.V., 556. |

## HADAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Ratan entitled Sarbuland Ray | 1500/1240 | Tuzuk, p.66. |

## BHADURIYAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Raja Bikramajit | 2000 | A.N., III, p.834; Tuzuk, 192; Z.K., I, p.234. |

contd..

## DHANDHERAS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Raja Jagman of Dhandhera | 1000 | A.N., III, p.832; Iqbal, p.504; Tuzuk, p.118. |

## TUNWARS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Shyam Singh | 1500/1200 | Tuzuk, p.37; T.U., f.141; Died in 1618. |

## CHANDRAWATS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Chandu | 700 | M.U., II, pp.143-44. |

## Appendix 'B'

## MANSABS HELD BY THE ALIVE RĀJPUT CHIEFS IN 1620-21 A.D.

### KACHAWĀHAS

| S.No. | Name | Mansab | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Raja Bhao Singh | 5000/3000 | Tuzuk, p.184; M.U., III, p.361; T.U., f.133. |
| 2. | Narain Das | 2000 | Vigat, II, pp.491-93. |
| 3. | Jai Singh | 1000/1000 | Tuzuk, p.192. |
| 4. | Rai Prithvi Chand | 700/ 450 | Ibid., p.239; T.U., f.133. |
| 5. | Karam Chand s/o Jagannath | 2000/1500 | Tuzuk, p.74; M.U., I, p.516; T.U., f.155. |
| 6. | Ram Das Narwari | 1500/ 700 | M.U., II, p.172. |
| 7. | Girdhar | 1200/ 900 | Tuzuk, p.332. |

### RĀTHORS

| S.No. | Name | Mansab | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Pratap of Baglana | 4000 | Tuzuk, p.203. |
| 2. | Raja Gaj Singh | 3000/2000 | Ibid., p.277; M.U., II, 223-25. |
| 3. | Raja Suraj Singh of Bikaner | 2000/2000 | Vigat, I, 93. |
| 4. | Kesho Das Maru of Merta | 2000/1200 | Tuzuk, p.192. |
| 5. | Karam Sen Rathor | 1000/ 300 | Ibid., p.143. |
| 6. | Jagmal s/o Kishan Singh | 500/ 225 | T.U., f.150. |
| 7. | --?-- b/o Raja Gaj Singh | 500/ 225 | Name is not mentioned in Tuzuk (p.277); probably, he is Sabal Singh of Kewal Ram (T.U., f.153) and Sagat Singh of Nainsi (Vigat, II, p.492). |

## BUNDELAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Raja Bir Singh Deo | 5000/5000 | Tuzuk, p.306; Z.K., II, p.364. |
| 2. | Bharat | 1500/1000 | Tuzuk, pp.271, 355. |

## SISODIAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Kunwar Karan | 5000/5000 | Jahangir's farman to Karan, V.V., II, pp.240-49. |
| 2. | Shyam Singh, cousin of Rana Amar Singh | 2500/1400 | Tuzuk, p.138. |
| 3. | Man Singh s/o Sagar | 1500/ 800 | Ibid., p.310; T.U., f.157. |

## BHATIS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rawal Kalyan | 2000/1000 | Tuzuk, p.163; Vigat, I, p.494. |

## BADGUJARS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Ani Rai Singh Dalan | 2000/1600 | Tuzuk, p.266. |

## PUNDIRS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Jagat Singh s/o Baso | 1000/ 500 | Tuzuk, p.264. |

contd.....

## JAMWALS OR MANHAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Raja Sangram of Jammu | 1500/1000 | Tuzuk, p.314. |

## HADAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Ratan entitled Sarbuland Ray | 2500/1500 | Tuzuk, p.272. |
| 2. | Hirday Narain b/o Ratan | 1200/ 600 | Tuzuk, p.322; T.U., f.158. |

## KATUCHS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Debi Chand of Gular | 1500/ 500 | Tuzuk, p.304. |

## CHANDRAWATS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Chandu Singh | 700 | M.U., II, pp.147, 48. |

## Chapter III

## SHĀH JAHĀN AND RĀJPUT CHIEFS

In the preceding chapter, we have seen that before Prince ion, the position of the Rājput nobles as a whole declined. At the same time new comers, belonging to the Sisodia, Bundila and Bargujar clans, became prominent. During Prince Shāh Jahān's rebellion most of the Rājput chiefs remained loyal to Jahāngīr, and only a few Rājput chiefs actively supported the Prince. However, after Jahāngīr's death the situation changed dramatically, especially after Shāh Jahān's successful occupation of Gujarāt and triumphal march to Āgra. Though, like the other nobles, the Rājput chiefs too hastened to acknowledge him as Emperor, the new sovereign's attitude could not but be complicated by their past conduct, as he would judge it in each individual case.

One index of this is the *mansab* evidence. In Shāh Jahān's reign, we are fortunate in possessing fairly comprehensive *mansab* lists of the nobles. ʿAbdul Ḥamīd Lāhorī, has furnished *mansab* lists of Shāh Jahān's nobles who held the *mansab* of 500 and above, for the 10th and 20th regnal years. For the 30th year, a similar list has been provided by Wāris. From other sources we encounter *mansabs* of some Rājput chiefs not included in these lists. On

the basis of this evidence, we have compiled lists of Rajput nobles, with their *mansabs*, for the three years, spaced at ten lunar decades, viz., 1637, 1647, and 1656. We have classified the *mansabs* according to the clans of the nobles. Along with these lists, we have also prepared a list of offices held by the Rajput chiefs at different points of time. This information should provide us with a much sounder base for the study of the fortunes of the Rajput nobility during the reign of Shah Jahan.

From our table of *mansabs*, it is evident that after Shah Jahan's accession the numerical strength as well as the *mansab* figures of the Rajput nobles increased substantially. In 1621, according to information compiled mainly from the *Tuzuk*, there were 29 Rajput nobles who altogether held the *mansabs* of 58,300/34,100[1] while by the end of 1637, their numerical strength was sixty two and their *mansab* figures were 84,350/59,780.[2] But this comparison may be misleading since the list of 1621 is probably very incomplete, having been compiled simply from incidental references in Jahangir Memoirs.

---

1. See Appendix 'B' of chapter II.

2. See Table 'A'. For the *mansab* of an individual Rajput chief, see the appended list of *mansabs* held by the alive Rajput chiefs in 1637 A.D.

After his accession, Shāh Jahān rewarded the Gaur family whose members Gopāl and Bal Rām had been killed in his cause in Sind. The descendants of Gopāl and Bal Rām became trusted favourites of Shāh Jahān. In 1637, there were five Gaur nobles whose total *mansabs* amounted to 8,200/5,500.[1] Shāh Jahān, after his accession recruited Bethal Dās, son of Gopal Das in the imperial service with the *mansab* of 3000/1500.[2] He was also granted the title of Rāja, and presented with a flag, a horse, an elephant and Rs.30,000.[3] In 1630, when he distinguished himself in the campaign against Khān-i Jahān Lodi in an engagement near Dholpur, he was promoted to 3000/2000.[4] In 1631, an important office such as the Castellan (*qil'adār*) of Ranthambhor was assigned to him.[5] In 1633, he was appointed the Governor (*faujdār*) of *sūba* Ajmer.[6] By the end of Shāh Jahān's 10th R.Y. (1636-1637 A.D.), he held the *mansab* of 4000/3000.[7] Moreover, Dhandhera was granted to him in *watan-jāgīr*.[8]

---

1. See Table 'A'.
2. Lāhorī, I, pp.117-18.
3. *Ibid.*; *Ma'āsir-ul Umarā*, II, pp.250-52.
4. Lāhorī, I, pp.241-42, 277, 278, 280; *Ma'āsir-ul Umarā*, II, pp.250-52.
5. *Ma'āsir-ul Umarā*, II, pp. 250-54.
6. Lāhorī, I, p.476; Xxxxx Taba Tabai, p.94.
7. Lāhorī, I, p.296.
8. *Ibid.*, p.8.

Bethal Das's brother Girdhar Das was also taken in the imperial service with the *mansab* of 500/200.[1] In 1636, when Girdhar Das killed Jujhar Singh Bundila and captured the fort of Jhansi, in reward, he was appointed the *qiladar* of the fort of Jhansi.[2]

Siv Ram, son of Bal Ram Gaur, was granted the *mansab* of 1500/1000.[3] In 1636, he is known to have held the office of *qiladar* of the fort of Asir.[4] Besides, two more Gaur nobles Sangram and Kirpa Ram held *mansabs* of 1500/600[5] and 700/700[6]. In 1632, Kirpa Ram was appointed *faujdar* of *chakla* Hisar.[7]

Similarly, the Sodha chief Rana Jodha of Amar Kot, had helped Prince Shah Jahan to pass through his territory[8] was rewarded with the *mansab* of 800/300.[9]

Seeing that Shahjahan's mother was a Rathor princess, of Jodhpur, it is not surprising that the fortunes of the Rathors

---

1. Lahori, I, p.324.
2. *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II, pp.254-56.
3. Lahori, I, p.305.
4. *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II, pp.263-64.
5. Lahori, I, p.306.
6. *Ibid.*, p.316.
7. *Ibid.*, p.432.
8. *Ahwal-i Shahzadgi-i Shah Jahan*, p.70.
9. Lahori, I, p.315.

improved substantially. In 1621, there are known to have been only five nobles holding recorded *mansabs* from amongst the Rathors of Jodhpur;[1] in 1637 there were 10. Shah Jahan naturally exalted with *mansabs* those Rathor chiefs who had sided with him during his rebellion; Prithvi Raj, Bhim and Bhar Mal were so rewarded. By the end of 1637, Prithvi Raj and Bhim held the *mansabs* of 2000/1700[2] and 1500/800[3] respectively. Jagmal was also assigned the *mansab* of 1500/800;[4] but he was killed in 1628 in encounter with Khan-i Jahan Lodi. His successor Hari Singh was given the *mansab* of 1000/800.[5] Similarly, in 1629, when Girdhar Das, who held the *mansab* of 1000/500, was killed again in the campaign against Khan Jahan,[6] his son Udai Bhan was given the *mansab* of 600/400 with the title of Raja.[7] Other Rathor nobles who were already in the service were given promotions. The *mansab* of Jagmal was increased from 500/225 to 1500/700.[8] But in 1629, after his death in battle, none of his

---

1. See Table 'B' of the chapter II.
2. Lāhorī, I, p.301.
3. *Ibid.*, p.306.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, p.308.
6. *Ibid.*, p.310.
7. *Ibid.*, p.319; *Bānke Dās-re-Khyāt*, p.178.
8. Lahori, I, pp.121, 306.

descendants seems to have received any mansab. Another Rathor chief Sabal Singh was promoted from 500/225 to 900/800.[1] Similarly, the mansab of Karamsi Rathor enhanced from 1000/300 to 1500/800.[2] In 1629, when he was killed, his four sons were taken into imperial service. In 1637, his sons Shyam Singh, Jagannath, Nand Ram and Mahesh Das altogether held mansabs of 1950/880.[3]

The principal Rathor noble was, of course, the ruler of Jodhpur. It is noteworthy that though Raja Gaj Singh fought against Khan-i Jahan Lodi and Jujhar Singh Bundila and also served in the Deccan expeditions, he was not given any promotions. His mansab remained static as 5000/5000.[4] It is possible that either his mansab was already considered the highest that any Rajput noble could aspire to, or Shah Jahan did not forgive him for his role during his rebellion.

On the other hand, Rao Sur Singh of Bikaner who had sided with Jahangir received a promotion. In 1630, when the Rao distinguished himself in the campaign against Khan-i Jahan Lodi, he was

---

1. Lahori, I, p.312.
2. Ibid., p.306.
3. For the mansabs of the individuals, see Appendix 'A' of this chapter.
4. Lahori, I, p.294; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.223-26.

raised from 3000/2000 to 4000/3000.[1] After the death of the Rao in 1631, his two sons Karan Singh and Satmal were granted _mansabs_ of 2000/1500[2] and 500/200[3] respectively. In 1632, Karan Singh was sent on the Deccan expeditions and when in 1635, the fort of Daulatabad was occupied, he was appointed the _qiladar_ of that fort.[4]

In the Kachawaha clan, Manrup Rajawat who sided with prince Shah Jahan in the rebellion was taken into imperial service with the _mansab_ of 3000/2000.[5] In addition, he was presented a horse with silver saddle, an elephant and Rs.2500.[6] After his death in 1630, his son Gopal Singh was given the _mansab_ of 900/600.[7]

Though the Kachawaha Ruler of Amber, Jai Singh, had sided with Jahangir, his last-minute switch-over to Shah Jahan's cause after Jahangir's death, probably secured him favour; though it

---

1. Lahori, I, pp.120, 295, 296, 297; _Ma'asir-ul Umara_, II, pp.211-12.
2. Lahori, I, pp.398, 302.
3. _Ibid._
4. _Ma'asir-ul Umara_, II, pp.287-88.
5. Lahori, I, p.299.
6. _Ibid._, p.118.
7. _Ibid._, p.312.

should be remembered that the Amber rulers had traditionally attracted imperial favour. In 1628, when Raja Jai Singh was sent with Qasim Khan Jujwani to crush the rebels of Mahaban, he was promoted from 4000/2500 to 4000/3000.[1] In 1629, when the Raja was sent with Shaista Khan in Deccan, he was promoted to 4000/4000.[2] In 1635, he obtained the rank of 5000/4000, and was despatched with Khan-i Zaman, Governor of Balaghat.[3] By the end of 1637, Jai Singh had attained the mansab of 5000/5000.[4]

Another Rajawat noble Ram Das Narwari who had also served in imperial forces sent against Prince Shah Jahan, did not receive any increase in his mansab. He continued with his mansab of 2000/1000.[5] Two Rajawat nobles Narain Das (2000/-- ) and Karam Chand (2000/1500) who had fought against Shah Jahan are no longer mentioned. On the other hand, four new Rajawat nobles namely Har Ram (700/300), Rup Singh (700/300), Ugar Sen (600/400) and Mathura Das (500/400)[6] seem to have been recruited.

---

1. Lahori, I, p.120.
2. Ibid., pp.196, 204, 205, 296; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 568-69.
3. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.570-71.
4. Lahori, I, p.294.
5. Ibid., p.303.
6. Ibid., pp.317, 319, 322.

Therefore, between the period from 1621 to 1637, the over all strength of the Rajawat nobles increased from five to seven but in term of *mansabs*, their position declined slightly from 11,500/5,100 to 11,300/800.[1]

On the other hand, after Shah Jahan's accession, the position of non-Rajawat nobles was strengthened in regard to number as well as *mansabs*. During the period from 1621 to 1637, their number increased from two to five and their total *mansabs* from 1,900/1,350 to 3,400/2,100.[2] Shāh Jahān admitted two new Shaikhawat nobles Ugar Sen and Nar Singh Das with the *mansabs* of 800/400[3] and 500/400[4] respectively. During the last years of Jahāngīr (1621-27), two Shaikhawat nobles Prithvi Raj and Girdhar Das, holding *mansabs* of 700/450 and 2000/1500 respectively, had died.[5] By the end of 1637, Prithvi Chand's son, Tilok Chand, and Girdhar Das's son, Bhoj Rāj, held *mansabs* of 800/500[6] and 800/400[7] respectively. Besides, one significant

---

1. Compare Table 'B' of the second chapter and 'A' of the third chapter.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Lāherī, I, p.314.

4. *Ibid.*, p.322.

5. See *mansab* list of 1621 A.D. attached to chapter II.

6. Lāherī, I, p.314.

7. *Ibid.*

development was the grant of a *mansab*, for the first time, to a member of the Naruka clan. Chandra Bhan Naruka was taken into imperial service with the *mansab* of 500/400.[1]

Among the Sisodias, Kunwar Bhim had been a loyal partisan of Shah Jahan, losing his life in his cause in 1624. After his accession, Shah Jahan admitted his son Rao Rai Singh into imperial service with the high *mansab* of 2000/1000; the title of Raja was also conferred upon him.[2] In addition, he was presented with a horse, an elephant, a robe of honour, a dagger and Rs.20,000.[3] In 1634, he took part in the campaign against Jujhar Singh Bundila, and by the end of 1637, he had acquired the rank of 3000/1500.[4]

As for Rana Karan Singh, when Jahangir died and Prince Dawar Bakhsh was installed on the throne in January 1628, Shah Jahan on his way from the Deccan to the North, stayed in Mewar where the Rana presented him *peshkash*. In return, Shah Jahan presented a *khilat* and confirmed the Rana in his *mansab* of

---

1. Lahori, I, p.322.
2. *Ibid.*, p.195; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II, pp.297-99.
3. *Ibid.*, p.195.
4. Ibid., pp.142, 299; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II, pp.298-300.

5000/5000.[1] Rana Karan Singh died soon after; his son Jagat Singh was assigned the same *mansab* of 5000/5000 with the hereditary title of Rana.[2]

It seems that the prerogative enjoyed by the chiefs of Mewar in respect of rendering service to the Mughals through their substitute continued under Emperor Shah Jahan. Even the number of troopers in the Mughal service were reduced from 1000 to 500. Now Rana Jagat Singh's uncle Arjun with 500 troopers was conditioned to render service in the Deccan on behalf of the Rana.[3]

While the ruling family of Mewar thus retained its position in the Mughal nobility, the fortunes of two other Sisodia families may also be noted. In 1621, there were two Sisodia nobles Man Singh and Shyam Singh who held the *mansabs* of 1500/800 and 2000/1400.[4] But after 1621, nothing is known about them. After Shah Jahan's accession, Shyam Singh's son Madho Singh held the *mansab* of 500/250[5] but after his death in 1634, none of his kinsmen is known to have held the *mansab*. Similarly, Man Singh's

---

1. Lahori, I, p.80.
2. *Ibid.*, p.161.
3. *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II, pp.203-7; Lahori, I, p.518.
4. *Op. cit.*
5. Lahori, I, p.323.

son Fateh Singh held the _mansab_ of 800/200.[1] After his death in 1629, other members of his family also received or held _mansabs_. By the end of 1637, his nephew Gokul Das held the _mansab_ of 900/500.[2] Sujan Singh, uncle of Man Singh and Shyam Singh, brother of Man Singh enjoyed the _mansabs_ of 800/300[3] and 1000/500[4] respectively.

After Shah Jahan's accession, the position of the subordinate _sardars_ of the Rana of Mewar who had joined imperial service, further improved. About Chandu Singh Chandrawat of Rampura who held the _mansab_ of 700 _zat_ during Jahangir's reign, nothing is known. But in Shah Jahan's 3rd R.Y. (1630-1631 A.D.), Chandu Singh's son Duda appears with a _mansab_ of 1500/1000.[5] In the same year, he won promotion to 2000/1500 and served against Khan-i Jahan Lodi.[6] In 1634, he was sent with Mahabat Khan against Bijapur, and he died in battle.[7] Subsequently, his son Hathi Singh was given the _mansab_ of 1500/1000 with the title of

---

1. Lahori, I, p.316.
2. _Ibid._, p.312.
3. _Ibid._, p.315.
4. _Ibid._, p.310.
5. _Ibid._, p.302.
6. _Ibid._, p.299.
7. _Ibid._, p.305.

Rāo.[1] Another Chandrawat chief Hari Singh, younger son of Chandu Singh held the mansab of 500/400.[2] After his death in 1635, no kinsmen of his seems to have immediately inherited his mansab.

Moreover, two important nominal subordinates of the Rana were taken directly into imperial service by Shāh Jahān. Though the ancestors of Rāwal Punja of Dungerpur and Rāwal Samarsī of Bānswāra had accepted the suzerainty of Emperor Akbar, they had not received mansabs.[3] Shāh Jahān after his coming to the Mughal throne, assigned the mansab of 1500/1500 to Rāwal Punja of Dungerpur.[4] Similarly, Rāwal Samarsī of Bānswāra was granted a mansab of 1000/1000.[5] Rāwat Har Dās Jhāla of Sādri thikāna was granted the mansab of 500/100.[6] Later on in 1631, Har Das was killed in the campaign against Khān Jahān Lodi.[7]

The Hadas had served Jahāngīr's cause during Shāh Jahān's rebellion. Consequently, after Shāh Jahān's accession, their

---

1. Lāhorī, I, p.305.
2. Ibid., p.322; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.145-48.
3. Op. Cit.
4. Lāhorī, I, p.304.
5. Ibid., p.307.
6. Ibid., p.325.
7. Ibid.

position seems to have been slightly adversely affected, their total *mansabs* declining from 7,200/6,200 to 7,100/5,400.[1] Initially, Shah Jahan confirmed Ratan Singh and his son Madho Singh on their *mansabs* 5000/5000[2] and 1000/600[3] respectively. From the Factory Records, we gather that Rao Ratan was fined Rs.1,50,000 by Shah Jahan which he could not pay till his death. In 1631, after the Rao's death, when his successor Satrsal came to court with the presents, Shah Jahan accepted the presents, but asked him to remit the fine before his departure to his chiefdom Bundi.[4] We also know that when Rao Ratan was at Burhanpur, he had purchased tapestry worth Rs.18,450 from agent Willoughby of the British Company. Out of this amount, the Rao paid Rs.1000 only.[5] From the subsequent factory reports, we know that Rao Ratan died without being made the payment. When his successor was approached, he declined to make the payment to a British agent.[6] In 1631, after Ratan Singh's death, his territory Bundi was divided into

---

1. Compare the Table 'B' of the chapter II and table 'A' of this chapter.
2. Lahori, I, p.294.
3. *Ibid.*, p.184.
4. *The English Factories* (1634-36 A.D.), pp.320-21.
5. *Ibid.* (1630-33 A.D.), p.90.
6. *Ibid.*, pp.131, 139, 213, 214; See also *The English Factories* (1634-36 A.D.), pp.54, 55, 63, 217, 257, 280-81, 294.

two parts. His son Madho Singh was assigned the <u>parganas</u> of Kota and Falaita with the <u>mansabs</u> of 2500/1500,[1] and his grandson Satrsal was granted the <u>parganas</u> of Bundi and Kankar with a <u>mansab</u> of 3000/2000 together with the title of Rao.[2] Subsequently, both rendered loyal service. It was Madho Singh who pursued and killed Khan-iJahan Lodi.[3] Madho Singh also took part in the expedition against Jujhar Singh Bundila. In reward, he was promoted to 3000/1600.[4] In 1635, he along with Khan-i Dauran distinguished himself in the campaign against Jujhar Singh and was raised to the rank of 3000/2000.[5]

In 1635, Satrsal Hada accompanied Shah Jahan to the Deccan where he played an important role against the expedition against Shahji Bhonsla.[6] He was promoted to 3000/3000.[7] Besides, Satrsal's younger brother Indrasal was also taken into imperial service with a <u>mansab</u> of 600/300.[8] On the other hand, the <u>mansab</u> of Hirday Narain Hada who held the <u>mansab</u> of 1200/600 in 1621,

---

1. Lahori, I, p.401.
2. <u>Ibid.</u>
3. <u>Ibid.</u>, pp.350-51; <u>Ma'asir-ul Umara</u>, III, pp.453-56.
4. Lahori, I, pp.113, 115; <u>Ma'asir-ul Umara</u>, III, pp.454-56.
5. <u>Ibid.</u>
6. Lahori, I, p.135.
7. <u>Ibid.</u>, p.177.
8. <u>Ibid.</u>, p.320.

was curtailed to 500/100.[1] The reason for this demotion is not known.

In the case of the Bundila clan, Shah Jahan adopted a liberal attitude after his accession. Unlike other Rajput chiefs who had opposed his rebellion, they were not debarred from further promotions. In 1624, Pahar Singh had joined Prince Shah Jahan's service for a time,[2] but after the defeat of Shah Jahan in the battle of Tons, Pahar Singh had defected to the imperial side. Nevertheless, Shah Jahan, after his accession, promoted him from 2000/1200 to 3000/2000.[3] Further, in 1630, he was granted the title of Raja.[4] Moreover, his three brothers, Chandraman, Bhagwan Das and Beni Das were taken into imperial service with mansabs of 1500/800,[5] 1000/600[6] and 500/200[7] respectively.

---

1. Lahori, I, p.328.
2. Op. cit.
3. Lahori, I, p.205; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.256-57.
4. Lahori, I, p.303.
5. Ibid., p.306.
6. Ibid., p.309.
7. Ibid., p.324.

Similarly, Bharat Bundila continued to obtain promotion. He was promoted at the accession, from 1500/1000 to 3000/2500.[1] He was appointed the *faujdār* of Etāwah.[2] In 1630, his *mansab* was enhanced to 3000/3000,[3] and in 1632, to 3500/3000.[4] At the time of his death in 1635, he had acquired the rank of 4000/3600.[5] His son Debi Singh was taken into service with the *mansab* of 2000/2000.

The relations with Jujhār Singh, the principal Bundila ruler was, however, complex and led to a complete rupture twice. Jujhār Singh was one of the favourites of Jahāngīr and had been active in the suppression of the rebellion of Shāh Jahān.[6] Nevertheless, when Jujhār Singh after his father Bir Singh's death (1627 A.D.) came to Shāh Jahān, he was granted the chiefship of Bundila clan with the *mansab* of 4000/4000 and the title of Rāja.[7] Later, he was promoted to 5000/4000.[8] His son Vikramajīt was also assigned the *mansab* of 1000/1000.[9] But when Shāh Jahān

---

1. Lāhorī, I, p.120.
2. *Ibid.*, p.191.
3. *Ma'āsir-ul Umarā*, II, pp.212-14.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Lāhorī, I, p.296.
6. *Op. cit.*
7. *Ma'āsir-ul Umarā*, II, pp.214-18.
8. Lāhorī, I, p.294; Qazwinī, 152a.
9. Lāhorī, I, p.184.

wanted to resume the unauthorised gains of his father Bir Singh, Jujhar Singh fled from the imperial court. It is significant that his brothers Pahar Singh and Bharat Bundila were sent against him. At last, Jujhar Singh was forced to submit, whereupon Shah Jahan not only recognised him as Raja of Orcha but also increased his <u>mansab</u> to 5000/5000.[1] Subsequently, Jujhar Singh was sent with Azam Khan, <u>subedar</u> of the Deccan, against Khan-i Jahan Lodi. But again in 1633, Jujhar Singh after a short stay in the Deccan returned to Orcha and began to extend his territory at the cost of local <u>zamindars</u>.[2] His violent capture of Chauragarh led to Shah Jahan's ordering a full-scale campaign against him, during which both he and his son Vikramajit were killed.[3] Shah Jahan conferred Orcha with the <u>mansab</u> of 2500/2000 and the title of Raja upon Bharat Singh's son Debi Singh.[4] Thus the territory restored to the family of Ramchandra from whom Jahangir had taken it in 1611 to assign it to his favourite Bir Singh Deo.[5]

---

1. Lahori, I, pp.2[illegible]4, 302; II, 294.
2. <u>Ibid.</u>, I, p. 302 ; II, p.294.
3. <u>Ibid.</u>
4. <u>Ibid.</u>, p.13.
5. <u>Op. cit.</u>

Thus, it emerges that Shah Jahan after his accession tried to keep the Bundila chiefs in good humour. But within the Bundila clan, Shah Jahan patronized particularly the members of the rival branch to that of ruling chief Jujhar Singh. Consequently, at the time of Jujhar Singh's revolt, Shah Jahan utilized their services against him. However, if one compares the mansab strength of Bundila chiefs at the different points of time, one would find that after Shah Jahan's accession, initially, the mansabs of the Bundila chiefs increased remarkably. By the end of 1634 A.D., their mansabs reached its pinnacle at 18,500/16,000.[1] This liberality might have flowed from a recognition of the strategic importance of the Bundilas in controlling the route to the Deccan.[2] But Jujhar Singh's rebellion brought about a great decline in Bundila fortunes, although they remained an important clan in the Mughal nobility to the very end. By the end of 1637, their mansabs had come down to 8,500/5,600 which was lower than that of the mansabs of 9,500/8,200[3] enjoyed by the Bundila chiefs towards the end of Jahangir's reign.

---

1. For these mansab figures, see the individual mansab of the Bundila chiefs, K.K. Trivedi, 'Rajput clans in the Mughal Nobility, The Bundela Case'. The aggregate mansab figures 15,500/14,340 furnished by Trivedi are wrong. See, PIHC, Bhubaneswar, 1977.

2. Muhta Nainsi-re-Khyat, I, pp.127-8; K.K. Trivedi, 'Rajput Clans in the Mughal Nobility: The Bundila Case', PIHC, 1977.

3. Compare Table 'A' of this chapter and 'B' of the second chapter.

It seems that the rebellions of Khan-i Jahan Lodi and Jujhar Singh Bundila prompted Shah Jahan to take other chiefs of central India in the imperial service. The Jadon chiefs Jagmal and Mukund of Karauli were assigned *mansab* of 500/300 each.[1] Similarly, Nahar Solanki and Narhar Das Jhala of Na[illegible]wa were admitted to imperial service with the *mansabs* of 500/400[2] and 500/200[3] respectively. In 1631, after the death of Narhar Das, in the battle of Khan-i Jahan Lodi, his son Dayal Das Jhala was assigned the *mansab* of 500/250.[4]

In case of the Ujjainyas, we noticed that in 1624, when Prince Shah Jahan was in Bihar, Narain Mal and his brother Pratap had joined the Prince. It seems that after Shah Jahan's defeat in the battle of Tons, the Ujjainya chiefs had left the side of the Prince.[5] But after Shah Jahan's accession, Pratap Ujjainya, who was assigned the *mansab* of 3000/2000 in 1624,[6] was taken into imperial service with a lower *mansab* of 1500/1000[7] which probably

---

1. Lahori, I, pp.322, 323.
2. *Ibid.*, p.322.
3. *Ibid.*, p.323.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Op. cit.*
6. *Op. cit.*
7. Lahori, I, p.305.

did not satisfy him. He, thereupon, rebelled, and was killed in 1636.[1]

On the other hand, the Bhaduriyas, who had resisted Shah Jahan when he had besieged Agra, were treated favourably by Shah Jahan after his coming to the throne. In 1628, the Bhaduriya chief Kishan Singh played a distinguished role in the expedition against Jujhar Singh Bundila.[2] In 1631, he was sent with Shaista Khan against Nizam Shah.[3] In 1636, he was sent with Khan-i Zaman against Shahji Bhonsla.[4] Towards the end of 1637, Kishan Singh held the _mansab_ of 1000/600.[5] Besides, Rai Ganesh and Badan Singh Bhaduriya also enjoyed the _mansabs_ of 1000/600[6] and 500/200[7] respectively.

The Badgujar noble Ani Rai Singh Dalan who was one of the favourites of Jahangir continued to get favours from Shah Jahan.

---

1. Lahori, I, p.305.
2. _Ma'asir-ul Umara_, III, pp.150-52.
3. _Ibid._
4. _Ibid._
5. Lahori, I, p.309.
6. _Selected Documents of Shahjahan's Reign_, p.29.
7. Lahori, I, p.324.

After Shah Jahan's coming to the throne, he was promoted to 3000/1500.[1] Further, in 1631, after the death of his father Bir Narain who held the *mansab* of 1000/600, the title of Raja was conferred upon him.[1] After his own death in 1637, his son Jay Ram was assigned the *mansab* of 1000/800.[3] This suggests that Shah Jahan adopted liberal attitude towards the chiefs who had then strong holds around the capital city of Agra. In pursuit of the same policy, Shah Jahan seems to have raised Lakhmi Sen, Chauhan chief of Ajaun to the *mansab* of 800/500.[4]

On the other hand, among the hilly Rajput chiefs, Jagat Singh Pundir who rebelled twice against Jahangir on behalf of Shah Jahan, did not receive any promotion during the first ten years of Shah Jahan's reign. He continued on his *mansab* 3000/2000.[5] However, in 1635, he held the office of *thanedar* of Bangash.[6] The *mansab* of other hill Rajput chiefs seems to have declined after Shah Jahan's accession. In 1621, Raja Sangram of Jammu and Debi Chand of Guler enjoyed the *mansabs* of 1500/1000 and 1500/500[7] respectively, but afterwards nothing

---

1. Lahori, I, p.299.
2. *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II, pp.221-23.
3. Lahori, II, p.4.
4. *Ibid.*, I, p.314.
5. *Ibid.*, p.298.
6. *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II, pp.238-41.
7. *Op. cit.*

is known about them. Subsequently, after Shah Jahan's accession, Raja Sangram's successor Raja Udai Singh held the *mansab* of 500/250.[1] Similarly, Debi Chand's successor Rup Chand enjoyed the *mansab* of 1000/600[2] but in 1635, after his death in battle against Prithvi Raj of Srinagar-Garhwal, his successor Man Singh was given the *mansab* of 900/850.[3]

However, Shah Jahan did recruit some more hill Rajput chiefs in the imperial service. Kunwar Sen Sena of Kishtwar and Katoch chief Chandra Bhan of Kangra were admitted with the *mansabs* of 1000/300[4] and 500/300[5] respectively.

II

Between the period from 1637 to 1647 A.D., as it is obvious from Table 'B' that the number as well as the *mansabs* of the

---

1. Lahori, I, p.323.
2. *Ibid.*, p.309.
3. *Ibid.*, p.312.
4. *Ibid.*, p.311.
5. *Ibid.*, p.322.

Rajput chiefs increased. Their number went up from 62 to 71 and their *mansabs* rose from 84350/59780 to 92,150/74,480.[1]

During this period, position of the Rathors declined in the imperial service. Their number came down from thirteen to ten and their *mansabs* fell from 16,600/13,270 to 15,300/14,300.[2] This was, perhaps, partly due to mortality. During this decade, seven Rathor nobles died. Out of these seven, the descendants of four were taken into service. After Raja Gaj Singh's death in May 1638, his younger son Jaswant Singh was granted the *tika* of Jodhpur instead of the eldest son Amar Singh. It is explained by the official historian that the choice was made by the Emperor in accordance with Rathor custom.[3] He was given the *mansab* of 4000/4000 with the title of Raja.[4] In January 1639, when he accompanied Shah Jahan to Kabul, his *mansab* was raised to 5000/5000.[5] In 1642, he accompanied the Qandhar expedition commanded by Dara Shukoh.[6] After his return from there in January 1645, he was appointed acting *subedar* of Akbarabad (Agra)

---

1. Compare the Tables 'A' and 'B'.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Lahori, II, p.98.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, p.133.
6. *Ibid.*, pp.162, 177.

till the return of Shaikh Farīd Fatehpuri from Kābul.[1] By the end of 1647 A.D., Jaswant Singh had acquired the rank of 5000/5000 with 2500 do aspa sih aspa.[2]

Jaswant Singh's elder brother Amar Singh who was over-ruled in regard of succession to the gaddī of Jodhpur, was sought to be made content by promoting him from 3000/2500 to 3000/3000 with the title of Rao.[3] He was also granted watan jāgīr in the pargana of Nāgore.[4] Subsequently, in July 1644, there was dispute between Rao Amar Singh and Rāo Karan of Bikāner over the boundary between their jāgīrs. This case was referred to Mir Bakhshi Salābat Khān who was suspected by Amar Singh of favouring Rao Karan. Amar Singh assassinated Salābat Khān in Shāh Jahān's court. He was killed in the ensuing struggle.[5] At the time of his death, he held the mansab of 4000/3000.[6] In spite of his conduct, his son Rāo Rāi Singh was granted the mansab of 1000/700.[7]

1. Lāhorī, II, p.407.
2. Ibid., p.719.
3. Ibid., p.97; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.230-37.
4. His grand son Inder Singh continued to hold the watan jāgīr in the pargana of Nāgore. Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign, p.121.
5. Lāhorī, II, p.382; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.445-47.
6. Lāhorī, II, p.721.
7. Ibid., p.733.

In 1641, Mahesh Das was promoted from 1000/600 to 1000/1000 and was posted with the Qandhar expedition of Dara Shukoh.[1] In 1643, he was raised to the mansab of 2000/2000 and pargana Jalor was granted to him as his watan jagir.[2] In 1645, he was promoted to 3000/2500.[3] In 1646, after his death, his son, Ratan Singh, was promoted from 400/200[4] to 1500/1500.[5] Subsequently, in 1656, in exchange of Jalor, the pargana ofRatlam was granted to him in watan-jagir.[6] After the death of Mahesh Das, his brother Jaswant Singh was assigned the mansab of 500/250.[7] In the case of another Rathor chief Hari Singh of Kishangarh who held the mansab of 1500/900[8], at the time of his death in 1644, his successor Rup Singh was assigned the mansab of 2000/1000.[9]

Three other Rathor nobles Bhim Singh (1500/800),[10] Sabal Singh (900/800)[11] and Jagannath (800/400)[12] were not succeeded

---

1. Lahori, II, pp.136, 230, 294, 484, 549.
2. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.445-47.
3. Lahori, II, p.554.
4. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.445-47.
5. Ibid.
6. Raghuvir Singh, Ratlam Rajya ka Pratham Itihas (Hindi), pp.95-98; The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XXI, 240-41.
7. Lahori, II, p.748.
8. Ibid., p.373; Vir Vinod, II, p.527.
9. Lahori, II, p.373.
10. Ibid., p.730.
11. Ibid., I, p.312.
12. Ibid., p.317.

by their heirs at least to the extent of obtaining any significant mansabs. Their total mansabs came up to 3,100/900. As for the four sons of Karamsi who held all together, total mansabs of 1100/350[1] in the 10th R.Y. (1637 A.D.), no further information about them is provided in our sources.

Three new Rathor nobles Gordhan (800/400),[2] Govind Das (500/250)[3] and Kesri Singh (500/100)[4] obtained places in Imperial service. The total strength of their mansabs was 1800/750. Moreover, two senior nobles received further promotions in their mansabs. Shyam Singh was promoted from 600/400 to 1500/600.[5] Another Rathor noble Prithvi Raj was raised from 2000/1700 to 2000/2000.[6] In 1644, Prithvi Raj was appointed the qiladar of Daulatabad fort.[7] In 1646, he was recalled from Daulatabad and appointed the qiladar of Agra fort along with Baqir Khan.[8]

---

1. See Appendix 'A'.
2. Lahori, II, p.740.
3. Ibid., p.748.
4. Ibid., p.752.
5. Ibid., p.731.
6. Ibid., p.726.
7. Ma'asir-ul Umara, I, pp.429-31.
8. Ibid.

The total *mansabs* of the Rathors of Bikaner declined during this period from 2900/2,100 to 2000/1500.[1] During this decade (1637-1647 A.D.) Rao Karan did not receive any promotion in his *mansab*. He continued on his *mansab* of 2000/1500 while nothing is known about Shatrusal who held the *mansab* of 700/600 in 1647 A.D.[2]

The number of the Kachawaha nobles during this period increased from eleven to eighteen, and their *mansab* increased from 11,800/8,600 to 17,700/16,000.[3] The Rajawats accounted for thirteen of the 18 Kachawaha nobles and enjoyed the bulk (14,100/13,200) of the total *mansabs* granted to Kachawahas.[4]

The four senior Rajawat nobles received promotions in their *mansabs.* Jai Singh was promoted from 5000/5000 to 5000/5000 all *do aspa sih aspa*.[5] In 1639, the title of'Mirza Raja' which was enjoyed by great grand father Raja Man Singh, was conferred upon him.[6] Ugar Sen (800/400) Mathura Das (500/400) and

---

1. Compare Tables 'A' and 'B'.
2. Lahori, I, p.316.
3. Compare Tables 'A' and 'B'.
4. See list 'B' of *mansabs.*
5. Lahori, II, p.719.
6. *Ibid.*, p.145.

Gopal Singh (900/600) were raised to 800/600,[1] 700/400[2] and 1000/1000[3] respectively. Nine new Rajawat nobles were taken into imperial service. They held, in total, the mansabs of 5,600/4,100.[4] Three Rajawat nobles Har Ram, Rup Singh and Ugar Sen, son of Shatru Sal, died during this decade. The strength of their total mansabs was 2000/1000.[5]

Similarly, the number as well as the mansabs of the other Kachawahas also increased. Their number rose from four to five and their mansabs went up from 2,600/1700 to 3,600/2,400.[6] Two senior Shaikhawat nobles Tilok Chand and Nar Singh Das were raised from 800/500 and 500/400 to 1000/500[7] and 800/800[8] respectively. Bhoj Raj, son of Raisal who had earlier held the mansab of 800/400[9] is not heard of during this decade. Two new Shaikhawat chiefs Pem Chand and Kanhi Ram were granted the mansabs

---

1. Lahori, II, p.739.
2. Ibid., p.742.
3. Ibid., p.732.
4. For the mansab of individual Rajawat chief, see Appendix 'B'.
5. See Appendix 'A'.
6. See Appendix 'B'.
7. Lahori, II, p.735.
8. Ibid., p.739.
9. Ibid., I, p.314.

of 600/400[1] and 500/200[2] respectively. Another chief Chandra Bhan Naruka received promotion; his mansab being raised to 700/500 from 500/400.[3]

The Gaurs continued to prosper during this decade. Their number increased from five to eight and their total mansabs went up from 8,700/6500 to 12,100/9,650.[4] Bithal Das, chief of Gaur clan was particularly favoured. In 1638, when Shah Jahan was going to Lahore, he appointed Bithal Das qiladar of Agra.[5] In 1641, he was assigned the office of subadar of Agra.[6] In 1643, he was promoted from 4000/3000 to 5000/3000.[7] In 1646, he was sent to Balkh and Badakhshan with Prince Murad and his mansab was raised to 5000/4000.[8] By the end of 1647, he had acquired the rank of 5000/5000.[9] In 1646, his son Anirudh was also taken into imperial service with the mansab of 1500/1000.[10] In 1646,

---

1. Lahori, II, p.745.
2. Ibid., p.731.
3. Ibid., p.742.
4. Compare the Tables 'A' and 'B'.
5. Lahori, II, p.110.
6. Taba Tabai, p.94; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.256-57.
7. Lahori, II, p.321.
8. Ibid., pp.398, 479.
9. Ibid., p.720.
10. Ibid., p.730.

his second son Arjun was also posted with the army of Prince Murād, and is then said to have held the *mansab* of 1000/700.[1]

Girdhar Dās, the brother of Bithal Dās also earned promotions during this period. In 1642, his *mansab* was raised from 500/200 to 1000/400.[2] By the end of 1647, he had reached the rank of 1000/800.[3] In 1646, Siv Rām Gaur was served in the army of Prince Murād Bakhsh.[4] During this decade, however, he did not receive any increase in his *mansab* and stayed at his *mansab* of 1500/1000.[5] But in 1647, he was appointed to the important charge of *qil'adār* of Kābul fort.[6] Another Gaur chief Kirpa Rām was promoted from 700/700 to 800/750.[7] Two new Gaur nobles Manohar Dās, brother of Rāja Bithal Dās, and Mukund Dās, son of Gopāl Dās were taken into imperial service with *mansabs* of 500/200[8] and 800/200 respectively.[9] In 1642, after the death of

---

1. Lāhorī, II, p.733.
2. *Ibid.*, p.301.
3. *Ibid.*, p.733.
4. *Ibid.*, p.484.
5. *Ibid.*, p.730.
6. *Ibid.*, p.641.
7. *Ibid.*, p.739.
8. *Ibid.*, p.750.
9. *Ibid.*, p.741; See also Ranawat, M.S., *Shah Jahan ke Hindu Mansabdar* (Hindi), p.104.

Sangram Gaur, chief of Gunnor, Morvi Gond, his official, deprived his son Bhupat from the succession and usurped himself. He also disowned the allegiance of the Mughals. Consequently, an expedition under the command of Khan-i Dauran was launched against him. Eventually, Morvi Gond was forced to submit to the Mughal forces.[1] But we do not find holding any mansab either of Bhupat or any successor of the deceased Raja Sangram who enjoyed the rank of 1500/600.[2]

The number of Sisodias in the Mughal service remained at five, but their mansabs went up from 8,700/6,800 to 11,700/8100.[3] The mansab of Rana Jagat Singh continued to stay at 5000/5000.[4] Shah Jahan continued to show favour to Rao Rai Singh, the son of his supporter, Maharaja Bhim. In 1652, Rao Rai Singh was sent with Prince Dara Shukoh on the Qandhar expedition.[5] Subsequently, he was deputed with Saeed Khan Zafar Jang to crush the revolt of Jagat Singh of Mau.[6] He was promoted from 2000/500 to

---

1. Lahori, II, pp.370-72; For details, see B.P. Saksena, History of Shah Jahan of Dihli, pp.121-22.
2. Lahori, II, p.731.
3. Compare Tables 'A' and 'B'.
4. Lahori, II, p.719.
5. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.299-301.
6. Ibid., pp.299-301.

4000/2000 and deputed with Dara Shukoh on Qandhar expeditions.[1] Similarly, another Sisodia chief Sujan Singh continued to receive promotions in his mansab. In 1644, he was promoted from 800/300 to 1000/400.[2] In 1645, he was promoted to 1000/500 and next year, he was sent with Prince Murad Bakhsh on the Balkh and Badakhshan campaign.[3] By the end of 1647, Sujan Singh had acquired the mansab of 1500/500.[4] Two new Sisodia chiefs Narain Das and Hamir Singh were taken into imperial service with the mansabs of 700/300[5] and 500/300.[6] But Sisodia chiefs Shyam Singh and Gokul Das who held the mansabs of 1000/500 and 900/500[7] at the end of the previous decade are no longer heard of.

The number and mansabs of the Ghelot chief, who were the subordinate sardars of the Sisodia chief of Mewar, do not change. Rawal Punja of Dungarpur and Rawal Samarsi of Banswara continued

---

1. Lahori, II, pp.294, 424.
2. Amal-i Salih, II, p.394; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.452-53.
3. Amal-i Salih, II, p.418.
4. Lahori, II, p.732.
5. Ibid., p.743.
6. Ibid., p.747.
7. Op. cit.

on their mansabs 1500/1500[1] and 1000/1000[2] respectively. Similarly, the mansab of the Chandrawat chief remained at 1500/1000. In 1644, after the death of Rao Hathi Singh who held the mansab of 1500/1000; his successor Rao Rup Singh was given the same mansab of 1500/1000.[3] On the other hand, the mansab of the chief of Sadri underwent an increase. In 1631, after the death of Har Das Jhala (500/200), his successor Rao Rai Singh was taken into service. By the end of 1647 A.D., he enjoyed the mansab of 1000/700.[4]

The number of Hada chiefs in the imperial service came down from four to three and their total zat mansab declined from 7,100 to 6,700 while their total suwar rank increased from 5,400 to 6,300.[5] There is no reference to Hirday Narain who held the mansab of 500/100.[6] Madho Singh who served the Mughals in the various expeditions received promotions in his suwar rank only.

---

1. Lahori, II, p.729.
2. *Ibid.*, p.732.
3. *Ibid.*, p.730.
4. *Ibid.*, p.733.
5. Compare the Tables 'A' and 'B'.
6. Lahori, I, p.328.

In 1638, he was sent to Kābul with Prince Shuja.[1] In 1640, he served under Prince Murad in Kabul.[2] Next year, in 1641, Madho Singh's _manṣab_ was raised from 3000/2000 to 3000/2500.[3] Further, in 1643, he was promoted to 3000/3000.[4] Madho Singh distinguished himself in the Balkh and Badakhshan campaign under Aurangzeb; he was appointed to guard the fort of Balkh.[5] By the end of 1647, he had acquired the rank of 3000/3000 with 2000 _do aspa sih aspa_.[6]

Though Rāo Satrsal served in the campaigns of Qandhār and Balkh and Badakhshān under the command of Princes Dāra Shukoh and Murād Bakhsh,[7] even then he did not receive any promotion during this period. In 1646, when Prince Murād Bakhsh came away from Balkh and Badakhshān, the Rao without permission retreated to Peshāwar. This annoyed Shāh Jahān. Therefore, he continued on his previous _manṣab_ of 3000/3000.[9] But his brother Indrasāl's _manṣab_ was raised from 600/300 to 800/400.[10]

---

1. Lāhorī, II, p.37; _Ma'āsir-ul Umarā_, II, pp.454-55.
2. Lāhorī, II, pp.37, 217; _Ma'āṣir-ul Umarā_, II, pp.454-55.
3. Lāhorī, II, p.224.
4. _Ibid._, p.308.
5. _Ibid._, p.678.
6. _Ibid._, p.722.
7. _Ibid._, pp.293, 484; _Ma'āsir-ul Umarā_, II, pp.261-63.
8. Lāhorī, II, p.633.
9. _Ibid._, p.177; _Ma'āsir-ul Umarā_, II, pp.261-63.
10. Lāhorī, II, p.740.

Both the number of *mansabdars* and the total of *mansabs* of the Bundila chiefs appear to have declined during the period from 1637 to 1647 A.D.[1] The number of the Bundila chiefs in the imperial service came down from five to three and then *zat mansabs* fell from 8500 to 7000. Their *suwar* ranks however went up from 5,600 to 7,800.[1] Pahar Singh continued to obtain favours from Shah Jahan, and he received promotions in his *suwar* rank. In 1642, when Champat Bundila, a retainer of Jujhar Singh rebelled, Pahar Singh was promoted from 3000/2000 to 3000/2000 with 1000 *do aspa sih aspa*[2] and deputed against him; Champat was forced to submit to Pahar Singh.[3] Further, in 1645, he was sent with Ali Mardan Khan to Badakhshan and in 1646, again Pahar Singh was included in the army of Prince Murad Bakhsh to Balkh and Badakhshan expeditions.[4] At this occasion, the *mansab* of Pahar Singh was increased by converting 1000 *sawar* into *do aspa sih aspa* (his rank now being 3000/3000 with 1000 *do aspa sih aspa*).[5] By the end of 1647, Pahar Singh had reached the still higher rank of 3000/3000 with 2000 *do aspa sih aspa*.[6]

---

1. Compare the Tables 'A' and 'B'.
2. Lahori, II, p.303.
3. *Ibid*; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II, pp.257-60.
4. Lahori, II, p.424.
5. *Amal-i Salih*, III, p.112.
6. Lahori, II, p.722.

On the other hand, Debi Singh Bundila who served under Prince Murad Bakhsh in the Balkh and Badakhshan campaigns[1] did not receive any promotion and his *mansab* remained unchanged at 2500/2000.[2] Similarly, the *mansab* of Chandraman son of Bir Singh Deo remained static as 1500/800.[3] Moreover, in 1641, after the death of Bir Singh's sons Bhagwan Das and Beni Das who held the *mansabs* of 1000/800 [4] and 500/200[5], none of their heirs was given any *mansab*.

The *mansabs* of Jadon clan declined for one reason or another. Their cumulative *mansabs* fell from 1000/600 to 500/400.[6] Nothing is known about Mukund Jadon, who had held the *mansab* of 500/300 in 1637.[7] The *mansab* of another Jadon chief Jagman of Karauli increased from 500/300 to just 500/400.[8] Some other chiefs belonging to central India received promotions in their

---

1. *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II, pp.295-97.
2. Lahori, II, p.725.
3. *Ibid.*, p.731.
4. *Ibid.*, p.734.
5. *Ibid.*, p.741.
6. Compare Tables 'A' and 'B'.
7. Lahori, I, p.327.
8. *Ibid.*, II, p.747.

mansabs during this period. Rāwat Dayāl Dās Jhāla was promoted from 500/250 to 700/500.[1] Nahar Solanki of Nainwa was raised from 500/400 to 800/400.[2]

We have seen that immediately upon the death of Mitrasen Tunwar of Gwalior in 1630, none of his heirs are known to have gained a mansab. But it seems that some time after Mitrasen's death, his son Kishan Singh was taken in the imperial service and in 1647 held the mansab of 500/500.[3]

During this decade (1637-1647 A.D.), the total mansabs of the Bhaduriyas declined from 2500/1000 to 1000/1000.[4] In 1644, after the death of Kishan Singh Bhaduriya (1000/600), his successor Rāja Badan Singh who already held the mansab of 500/200 in 1637, was promoted to 1000/1000.[5] The mansab of Rāi Ganesh Bhaduriya, who held the mansab of 1000/600[6] in 1637, is not recorded in the subsequent decade.

---

1. Lāhorī, II, p.742.
2. Ibid., p.744.
3. Ibid., p.747.
4. Compare the Tables 'A' and 'B'.
5. Lāhorī, II, p.732.
6. Op. cit.

The *mansab* of Bargujar chief, Raja Jai Ram received enhancements in this decade. In 1639, his *mansab* was increased from 1000/800 to 1000/1000.[1] Besides, his four sons were taken into imperial service, but it appears that they were assigned the *mansabs*[2] less than 500 *zat* as none of them is recorded holding *mansab* in the chronicles. Subsequently, Jai Ram was sent with Prince Murad Bakhsh to Kabul.[3] In 1646, when he was sent on the expedition of Balkh and Badakhshan with Prince Murad Bakhsh, his *mansab* was raised to 1500/1000.[4] When Balkh was occupied, he was sent in pursuit of Nazar Muhammad.[5] In recognition of his services, he was promoted to 1500/1000.[6] Further, his *mansab* was raised to 1500/1500.[7] Till his death in 1647, he rendered distinguished services in Balkh and had acquired the *mansab* of 2000/1500.[8]

---

1. Lahori, II, pp.4. 146; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II, pp.241-42.
2. Lahori, II, p.4.
3. *Ibid.*, pp.181, 226; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II, pp.241-42.
4. Lahori, II, p.473.
5. *Ibid.*, p.550.
6. *Ibid.*, p.554.
7. *Ibid.*, p.595.
8. *Ibid.*, pp.608, 727; See also *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, tr. I, p.731. Here, his *suwar mansab* is noted 500 which is obviously a slip.

In 1641, after the death of Chauhan chief Lakhmi Sen who held the *mansab* of 800/500,[1] his successor Chatrbhuj was given the lower *mansab* of 700/500.[2] But during this period, five fresh Chauhan chiefs were taken in the imperial service. In 1647, Pratap Chauhan held the *mansab* of 600/500.[3] Other Chauhan chiefs, namely, Ballu and his kinsmen Vaini Das and Sakat Singh enjoyed the *mansabs* of 500/300,[4] a 400/100[5] and 500/250[6] respectively. Ballu Chauhan rendered services in the campaigns of the North-west frontiers.[7] Moreover, Chauhan Sonagra chief, Chatrbhuj was also admitted to the imperial service with a *mansab* of 700/500 some time before 1647 A.D.[8]

Among the hill Rajputs during this decade (1637-1647 A.D.), Jagat Singh Pundir did not receive any promotion in his *mansab* and continued on his *mansab* of 3000/2000.[9] But, on the other

---

1. Lahori, II, p.314.
2. *Ibid.*, p.742.
3. *Ibid.*, p.745.
4. *Ibid.*, p.747.
5. *Muhta Nainsi-re-Khyat*, I, 234.
6. Lahori, II, p.748.
7. *Ibid.*, p.485.
8. *Ibid.*, p.742.
9. *Ibid.*, p.724.

hand, important offices were assigned to him. In 1639, he was appointed the faujdar of Bangash.[1] At the same time, his son Rajrup was given the faujdari of Kangra valley.[2] In 1641, the office of faujdar of Kangra valley was transferred from Rajrup to Jagat Singh.[3] Upon condition of paying four lacs per annum to the imperial treasury, he was authorised to collect the peshkash from the other hill zamindars.[4] Subsequently, Jagat Singh and Rajrup revolted but they were forced to submit.[5] Jagat Singh was taken into imperial service with the same mansab of 3000/2000.[6] Further, he was sent with Dara Shukoh to Qandhar where he was entrusted with the charge of the fort of Qalat.[7] In 1645, he was sent on the Badakhshan expeditions in which he rendered distinguished services.[8] In the Sarab and Andrab region he built a fort of timber.[9]. However, in 1645,[10] after Jagat Singh's

---

1. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.239-41.
2. Lahori, II, pp.127, 237.
3. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.241-42.
4. Lahori, II, p.238.
5. Ibid., pp.237-39; Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, III, pp.119-22.
6. Lahori, II, pp.269, 724, 291.
7. Ibid., pp.466, 467; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.241-42.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Lahori, II, pp.481-82.

death, his son Rajrup was given the mansab of 1500/1000 with the title of Raja. The mahals which were held by him as watan jagir were conferred upon him in inam.[1] He was also assigned the charge of the said timber fort.[2] In the same year, in reward of his distinguished services in the North-western frontier, his mansab was raised to 2000/1500.[3] By the end of 1647, he had acquired the rank of 2000/2000.[4] Besides, the strength of contingent against the mansab, he maintained five hundred horses and two thousand infantry. The payment of this extra contingent was made from the imperial treasury of Kabul.[5]

Here, it is important to note that after Jagat Singh's revolt, Shah Jahan readmitted him in the imperial service without any severe punishment. It seems that out of the following two considerations weighed with Shah Jahan for taking such a lenient attitude (a) During this period, Shah Jahan was facing the problem of the North-western frontier. Hill Rajputs being familiar with a severely cold climate were ideal soldiers for the Northwest. (b) Jagat Singh and his retainers could be used against other hill Rajputs, whose territories had not been properly subjugated.

---

1. Lahori, II, pp.481-82.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p.455.
4. Ibid., p.726.
5. Ibid., pp.481-82.

At the same time some of the other Rājput chiefs of the Punjāb hills rendered military service on the North-western frontier and they also played a role in quelling the revolt of Jagat Singh Pundīr. Yet one does not find any significant change in their position in the Mughal hierarchy. Mān Singh of Guler served with Prince Murād and Aurangzeb in the North-west and moreover, in 1641, he was sent against Jagat Singh Pundir,[1] but he did not receive any further promotion. He continued on his previous manṣab of 900/850.[2] Kunwar Sen of Kishtwar received a minor increase in his suwār rank, from 1000/300 to 1000/400.[3] Raja Prithvi Chand of Chamba, who distinguished against the revolt of Jagat Singh Pundir, was taken in imperial service with the manṣab of 1000/400 and the title of Rāja.[4] But in 1641, after the death of Chandra Bhān of Kangra who held the manṣab of 500/300[5], no manṣab was granted to his successor.

---

1. Lāhorī, II, pp.264, 266, 274.
2. Ibid., p.738.
3. Ibid., p.736.
4. Ibid., pp.273, 274, 276; Hutchison, pp.204-5.
5. Lāhorī, I, p.322; Hutchison, p.173.

III

From Table 'C', it is evident that the total number as well as the total *mansabs* of the Rājput nobles continued to rise during the third decade of Shāh Jahān's reign. The number of the Rājput mobles increased from 71 to 80 and their total *mansab* strength went up from 95150/79880 to 1,23,150/1,03,530.[1]

Even during the third decade (1647-1657 A.D.), the Rāthor clan continued to enjoy the leading position among the Rājput clans. Their total number increased from 14 to 23, and their total *mansabs* went up from 20,000/16,950 to 28,950/24,230.[2] Among the Rāthors, the premier position was naturally enjoyed by the members of the Rāthor clan of Jodhpur. In number, they increased from 10 to 19 and their total *mansabs* rose from 15,300/14,300 to 24,050/20,575.[3] Rāja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, who served with Princes Aurangzeb and Dāra Shukoh in the Qandhar expeditions, was promoted from 5000/5000 with 5000 *do aspa sih aspa* to 6000/5000 with 5000 *do aspa sih aspa*.[4] In 1654, he was raised to the *mansab* of 6000/6000 with 5000 *do aspa sih aspa*.[5]

---

1. Compare the Tables 'B' and 'C'.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. Wāris, pp.166-69, 202-5.
5. *'Amal-i Sālih*, III, p.69; *Ma'āsir-ul Umarā*, II, pp.268-69.

In 1648, another senior noble Rup Singh was promoted from 2000/1000 to 2500/1200 and he was sent to Qandhar with Aurangzeb.[1] In 1649, he was raised to 3000/1500.[2] In 1652, when he was sent with Prince Dara Shukoh to Qandhar, he was promoted to 4000/2500.[3] In 1654, he was sent to Chittor against Rana Raj Singh and now again his _mansab_ was raised to 4000/3000.[4]

In 1651, Rao Rai Singh was sent to Qandhar with Prince Aurangzeb and his _mansab_ was increased from 1000/700 to 1500/800.[5] Further, Rai Singh served in the Qandhar and Chittor expeditions.[6] In 1655, Sulaiman Shukoh, eldest son of Dara Shukoh married the sister of Rao Rai Singh,[7] and in 1656, his rank was raised to 1500/1000.[8] The matrimonial alliance with Dara Shukoh's son was not without political considerations. As we know that Rao Rai Singh was dissatisfied with Shah Jahan on account of his father Amar Singh's death at the Mughal court.[9] It is possible that

---

1. _Amal-i Salih_, III, p.69; _Ma'asir-ul Umara_, II, pp.268-69.
2. _Ibid._
3. Waris, pp.202-5; _Ma'asir-ul Umara_, II, pp.268-6 70.
4. _Ibid._
5. _Ibid._
6. Waris, pp.202-5, 273-5; _Ma'asir-ul Umara_, II, pp.235-39.
7. Waris, p.481; _Muntakhab-ul Lubab_, II, p.730; _Vir Vinod_, II, pp.342-43.
8. Waris, f.262b; _Ma'asir-ul Umara_, II, pp.234-37.
9. _Op. cit._

Sulaiman Shukoh's marriage with Rai Singh's sister was designed to assuage his feelings and restore the prestige of that branch of the Rathor house.

During this decade (1647-1657 A.D.), two more Rathor nobles Gordhan and Kesri Singh were promoted from 800/400 to 1000/500[1] and 500/100 to 600/200[2] respectively. Moreover, as indicated in the list 'C' of _mansabdars_ ten new nobles were brought into imperial service;altogether they enjoyed an aggregate _mansab_ of 2850/2430.[3]

Between 1647-1657, four Rathor nobles died. Out of these four, the descendants of two were taken into imperial service in the lower capacity. Prithvi Raj served with Aurangzeb and Dara Shukoh in the Qandhar expeditions.[4] In 1654, he took part in the campaign against Rana Raj Singh of Mewar.[5] In the same year, he was appointed governor of Ajmer province.[6] Further, in 1556, he

---

1. Waris, f.264b.
2. Waris, f.268b.
3. See, Appendix 'C'.
4. Waris, pp.166-69, 202-205.
5. _Ibid._, pp.273-75.
6. _Ibid._, pp.279-80; M. Athar Ali, 'Provincial Governors under Shah Jahan', _Medieval India - A Miscellany_, III, p.94.

was sent with Aurangzeb to the Deccan.[1] But in spite of these services, he did not receive any increase in his mansab, which continued to be 2000/2000.[2] However, at the time of his death in 1657, three kinsmen of his, Kesri Singh, Jagat Singh and Ram Singh held the mansabs of 600/200[3], 700/300,[4] and 500/200[5] respectively.

During this decade (1647-1657), Shyam Singh who served with Aurangzeb in the Qandhar expedition was promoted to 3000/1500.[6] In 1647, he held the ~~xxx~~ office of the faujdar of Baglana.[7] But after his death in 1657, his son Udai Bhan was taken in the imperial service with the lower mansab of 1000/500.[8]

Ratan Singh Rathor, after serving in the Qandhar, Mewar and Deccan expeditions, had acquired the status of 2000/2000.[9]

---

1. Waris, pp.364-65.
2. Ibid., MS. f.261b.
3. Ibid., f.269a.
4. Ibid., f.267b.
5. Ibid., f.270a.
6. Ibid., f.260b.
7. Ibid., f.263b.
8. Ibid., f.263b.
9. Amal-i Salih, III, p.70 ; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.446-47.

But after his death in 1656, none of his heirs is known to have been granted a _mansab_. Similarly, in 1657, after the death of Jai Singh who held the _mansab_ of 500/150[1], there is no record of any of his heirs holding any _mansab_.

The _mansabs_ of the Rathor chiefs of Merta and Bikaner were also increased during this period. Udai Bhan, chief of Merta was promoted from 700/400 to 800/500.[2] In 1649, Rao Karan of Bikaner was raised from 2000/1500 to 2000/2000[3] and he was also appointed the _qiladar_ of the Daulatabad fort.[4] Further, he was raised to the status of 3000/2000.[5] Moreover, a kinsman of his Banmali Das, son of Rao Karan was taken into imperial service with the _mansab_ of 1000/100.[6]

However, Prince Aurangzeb was annoyed with Rao Karan owing to his negligence in attending the _tula dan_ ceremony.[7] In 1654,

---

1. Waris, f.270a.
2. _Ibid._, f.266a.
3. _Ma'asir-ul Umara_, II, pp.287-88.
4. Waris, p.126; _Ma'asir-ul Umara_, II, pp.287-88.
5. Waris, f.260b.
6. _Vir Vinod_, p.373.
7. Prince Aurangzeb complained to Mirza Raja Jai Singh for not attending the _tula dan_ ceremony by Rao Karan. The _nishan_ is preserved in RSA Bikaner.

when Aurangzeb went to the Deccan, where the Rão was already posted, his _mansab_ was curtailed.[1] Subsequently, in 1655, when Aurangzeb made _tajwīz_ to raise Rão Karan's _mansab_, Shāh Jahān turned it down.[2]

Regarding the Kachawāha clan, it is interesting to note that the number of the Kachawāha nobles in the imperial service was reduced from eighteen to fourteen while their _mansab_ strength increased marginally from 17,700/16000 to 18700/18500.[3] The number of the Rajawat nobles came down from thirteen to nine but their total _mansabs_ increased from 14,000/13200 to 15000/16000.[4] During this decade (1647-1657 A.D.), five Rajawat nobles died, namely, Sangrām, Mathura Dās, Ugar Sen, Prithvi Rāj, and Kishan Singh who together held _mansabs_ of 2,900/1500.[5] While on the other hand, two fresh Rajawat nobles Kirat Singh and Mahru, sons of Rāja Jai Singh were admitted into imperial service with the _mansabs_ of 1000/900[6] and 900/300.[7] Among the fresh recruits,

---

1. Aurangzeb's _nishān_ to Mirza Rāja Jai Singh, RSA Bikaner; _Ma'āsir-ul Umarā_, II, 287-90.
2. _'Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīrī_, MS. ff.37b, 38a; _Ruqqāt-i 'Ālamgīrī_, 114-115.
3. Compare Tables 'B' and 'C'.
4. See the _mansab_ list 'C'.
5. Wāris, f.267a; p.218. About Sangram, Prithvi Rāj and Kishan who held the _mansabs_ of 700/500, 500/250 and 500/250 is nothing known.
6. Wāris, f.263b.
7. _Vir Vinod_, p.374.

Kirat Singh was treated with particular favour. In 1651, he was appointed the _faujdar_ of _sarkar_ of Mewat.[1] At the same time, he was also assigned _pargana_ Kama Pahari for his _watan jagir_.[2]

Four senior Rajawat nobles earned promptions after rendering services in the different expeditions. In 1648, Raja Jai Singh was sent to Balkh with Prince Aurangzeb.[3] In 1649, his _mansab_ was raised from 5000/5000 with 2000 _do aspa sih aspa_ to 5000/5000 with 3000 _do aspa sih aspa_, and he was directed to proceed to Qandhar with Prince Aurangzeb.[4] After the failure of that expedition, Jai Singh along with Prince Aurangzeb came to court. At this time, he is known to have held the office of _faujdar_ of Delhi.[5] Subsequently, he was appointed to pacify the Mewat region.[6] Thereupon performing meritorious services, he was rewarded with the promotion of 5000/5000 with 4000 _do aspa sih aspa_.[7] Later on, Jai Singh served in the Qandhar and Mewar expeditions[8], but

---

1. _Farmans, Nishans and Manshurs_, N.77; _Ma'asir-ul Umara_, II, pp.156-58; Syed Nurul Hasan, 'Further Light on _Zamindars_ under the Mughals - A Case Study of Mirza Raja Jai Singh under Shah Jahan', _PIHC_, 1979, p.501.
2. Waris, p.138; Khafi Khan, III, p.701; _Ma'asir-ul Umara_, III, p.156.
3. Waris, pp.74-76.
4. _Ibid._, pp.84-95; _Ma'asir-ul Umara_, III, pp.570-75.
5. _Zakhirat-ul Khawanin_, III, p.118.
6. _Ibid._
7. Waris, f.259a.
8. _Ibid._, pp.202-205, 276.

he did not receive any increment in mansab. His eldest son Ram Singh's mansab was, however, raised from 1000/1000 to 3000/2000.[1]

Amar Singh Narwari, who served with Princes Aurangzeb and Dara Shukoh in Qandhar[2] had his mansab raised from 1000/600 to 1500/1000.[3] Other Rajawat nobles Jay Ram and Ajab Singh were promoted from 900/600 to 1000/800[4] and 800/300 to 800/400.[5] However, the mansabs of the two Rajawat nobles Gopal Singh and Ugar Sen remained static as 1000/1000 and 800/600.[6]

The number of Kachawaha nobles other than Rajawats was reduced from six to five and their total mansab strength decreased from 4,300/2900 to 3700/2500.[7] But it is interesting to note that while the number as well as the mansabs of the Shaikhawat nobles came down, the number as well as the mansabs of the Naruka nobles underwent an increase. The number of the Shaikhawat nobles came down from five to two and their total

1. Waris, f.260b.
2. Ibid., pp.74-76, 202-05.
3. Ibid., f.262b.
4. Ibid., f.263b.
5. Ibid., f.266b.
6. Ibid., ff.263b, 266a.
7. See, mansab list 'C'.

mansab from 3,600/2400 to 1,800/1300.[1] Nothing is recorded during this decade, about the mansabs of three Shaikhāwat nobles Tilok Chand, Pem Chand and Kanhi who previously held the mansabs of 1000/500,[2] 600/400[3] and 500/200[4]. No fresh recruitment is known to have taken place from the Shaikhāwat clan. Of the two remaining senior Shaikhāwat nobles, Bhoj Rāj was promoted from 700/500 to 1000/500.[5] But the mansab of Nar Singh Dās remained static as 800/800.[6]

In the Naruka clan, one notices that two fresh nobles, Fateh Singh and Hari Singh were taken in the imperial service with the mansabs of 700/300[7] and 500/300.[8] But Chandra Bhan Naruka did not receive any promotion and he continued on his mansab of 700/500.9

---

1. See, mansab list 'C'.
2. Lāhorī, II, p.735.
3. Ibid., p.745.
4. Ibid., pp.750-51.
5. Waris, f.264b.
6. Ibid., f.265b.
7. Ibid., f.268a.
8. Ibid., f.269a.
9. Ibid., f.267a.

The fortunes of the members of the Gaur family continued to rise. Their number increased from eight to twelve and their total *mansabs* pushed up from 12,100/9,650 to 14,100/11700.[1]

In 1647, Bithal Das Gaur was promoted from 5000/4000 to 5000/5000 with 1000 *do aspa sih aspa*, and he was sent to Kabul.[2] In 1649, he was raised to the status of 5000/5000 with 2000 *do aspa sih aspa*, and deputed with Prince Aurangzeb on the Qandhar expedition.[3] In 1651, after the death of Bithal Das, his eldest son Anirudh was promoted from 1500/1000 to 3000/3000 with 2000 *do aspa sih aspa*.[4] The title of Raja was also conferred upon him.[5] In addition, he was appointed the *qiladar* of the fort of Ranthambhor[6] in succession to his father. Bithal Das' second son Arjun was promoted from 1000/700 to 1000/1000.[7] In 1651, Arjun was sent to Qandhar with Prince Aurangzeb and his *mansab* was raised to 2000/1500.[8] Bhim and Harjas, two other sons of the Raja Bithal Das,

---

1. See, Tables 'B' and 'C'.
2. *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II, pp.252-54.
3. Waris, f.259a, pp.74-76; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II, pp.252-55.
4. Waris, f.260a; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II, pp.276-77.
5. Waris, pp.154-55; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II, pp.276-77.
6. Waris, pp.154-55.
7. *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II, pp.253-57.
8. Waris, f.261b, pp.166-69.

were taken into imperial service with *mansabs* of 1000/400[1] and 500/200.[2] Bithal Das' brothers Bhao Singh, Bahram & and Ra-nchor were also granted the *mansabs* of 500/200,[3] 500/200[4] and 500/150[5] respectively.

Three other senior Gaur nobles earned promotions during this period. Girdhar Das, who served in the Qandhar and Mewar expeditions, was raised from 1000/800 to 2000/2000.[6] In 1655, Girdhar Das was appointed the *qiladar* of Agra fort.[7] In 1657, when Girdhar Das was made the *faujdar* of Agra, his son Parduman was appointed the *qiladar* of Agra fort.[8] Moreover, his second son Harjan was taken into imperial service with the *mansab* of 500/300.[9]

Another noble Siv Ram who served in the Qandhar and Mewar expeditions, was promoted from 1500/1000 to 2000/1500.[10] In 1648

1. Waris, f.264b.
2. *Ibid.*, f.269b.
3. *Ibid.*, f.269b.
4. *Ibid.*, f.270a.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*, pp.166-69, 273-75, f.261a.
8. *Ibid.*, pp.318-19, 366-67.
9. *Ibid.*, f.269a.
10. *Ibid.*, pp.74-76, 166-69, 273-75, f.269a.

he held the office of the qiladar of Kabul.[1] He was also honoured with the title of Raja.[2] Mahesh Das Gaur's mansab was also raised from 500/200 to 800/400;[3] and in 1652 he was appointed the qiladar of Asirgarh.[4] Only Kirpa Ram Gaur did not receive any promotion in his mansab, and continued on his mansab of 800/750.[5]

The numerical as well as the mansab strength of Sisodias increased substantially. Their number doubled from five to ten and their mansab figures went up from 11,700/8100 to 21,200/12300.[6]

In October 1652, after the death of Rana Jagat Singh who held the mansab of 5000/5000, his heir-apparent Raj Singh was given the same mansab of 5000/5000 with the hereditary title of Rana.[7] In 1654, Rana Raj Singh rebelled but after his submission, his mansab of 5000/5000 was restored to him.[8] But he lost a certain amount of territory, so that although his rank remained the same, his income certainly was reduced.

---

1. Waris, p.6; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.263-65.
2. Amal-i Salih, III, p.133.
3. Waris, f.266a.
4. Ibid., p.194.
5. Ibid., f.266a.
6. See Tables 'B' and 'C'.
7. Waris, f.25a.
8. Ibid.; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.206-8.

Rai Singh Sisodia who was one of the favourites of Shah Jahan, rendered his services in the Balkh and Badakhshan, Qandhar and Mewar expeditions.[1] When he distinguished himself in the Qandhar expeditions, he was raised to 5000/2500 from 4000/2000.[2] Sujan Singh Sisodia who served in the Qandhar expeditions was promoted from 1500/500 to 2000/800.[3] His son Fateh Singh was also taken into imperial service with the <u>mansab</u> of 500/200.[4] Sujan Singh's brother Biram Deo who served in the Qandhar expeditions succeeded in rising to a <u>mansab</u> of 3000/1000.[5] Another Sisodia noble Sabal Singh who was taken into service during this period and served in the Qandhar expeditions and reached the rank of 2500/500.[6] Similarly, Sunder Das and Sultan Sisodia, who also took part in the Qandhar and Mewar expeditions held the <u>mansabs</u> of 700/300[7] and 500/100[8] respectively. Garib Das and Channa Sisodia enjoyed the <u>mansab</u> of 1500/700[9] and 500/200.[10]

---

1. <u>Amal-i Salih</u>, III, pp.71, 100; <u>Ma'asir-ul Umara</u>, III, 295-99.
2. Waris, p.276; <u>Ma'asir-ul Umara</u>, II, pp.295-99.
3. Waris, pp.74-76, 90-91, 166-69, f.261a.
4. <u>Ibid.</u>, f.270a.
5. <u>Ibid.</u>, f.261a.
6. <u>Ibid.</u>, f.261a.
7. <u>Ibid.</u>, pp.276, 213. See also Ranawat, <u>Shah Jahan ke Hindu Mansabdara</u>, p.35.
8. Waris, f.270b.
9. <u>Ibid.</u>, p.204. See also Ranawat, <u>Shah Jahan ke Hindu Mansabdara</u>, p.31.
10. Waris, f.270a.

On the other hand two Sisodia nobles namely Narāin Dās and Hamir Singh who held the mansabs of 700/300[1] and 500/300[2] died, it is not clear whether any parts of these mansabs were passed on to their heirs.

It is interesting to note that during this decade (1647-1657 A.D.), the subordinates of the Rāna of Mewār, who had joined imperial service, improved their positions - Rāo Rup Singh Chandrāwat, who held the mansab of 1500/1000 in 1647 A.D. was promoted to the mansab of 2000/1240.[3] After his death, in 1651, his son Rāo Amar Singh was taken in the imperial service. Amar Singh served in the Qandhār expeditions and acquired the rank of 2000/1000.[4]

During this period (1647-1657 A.D.), the total mansabs of the Ghelot chiefs increased marginally from 2500/2500 to 3100/3100.[5] The mansabs of Rāwal Punja of Dungarpur and Rāwal Samarsī of

1. Wāris, f.267a.
2. Lāhorī, II, p.747. About Hamir Singh, nothing is known.
3. Wāris, p.202; Ranawat, Shah Jahan ke Hindu Mansabdars, p.30.
4. Wāris, pp.202-05; f.262a.
5. See, Tables 'B' and 'C'.

Banswara remained stationary as 1500/1500[1] and 1000/1000[2] respectively. But the Chandrawat chief Girdhar Das, son of Rawal Punja was for the first time taken into imperial service with the *mansab* of 600/600.[3] Similarly, the Jhala chiefs also improved their positions marginally. The *mansab* of Rai Singh Jhala remained unchanged at 1000/700.[4] But Rawat Dayal Das Jhala's brother Barsa was taken into the imperial service with the *mansab* of 500/250.[5] The *mansab* of another Jhala noble, Rawat Dayal Das who served in the Qandhar expeditions was, however, increa-sed from 700/500 to 900/500.[6]

The Bundila chiefs, who had suffered a decline in number as well as total *mansabs* in the end of the first ten years of Shah Jahan's reign, improved their positions in the third decade (1647-1657 A.D.). Their number doubled from three to six and their total *mansab* went up from 7000/7800 to 8000/10200.[7]

---

1. Waris, f.262b.
2. *Ibid.*, f.263b.
3. *Ibid.*, f.268a; pp.74-76, 166-69, 273-75.
4. *Ibid.*, f.263b.
5. *Ibid.*, p.217; Ranawat, *Shah Jahan ke Hindu Mansabdars*, pp.37, 95, 108.
6. *Ibid.*, f.265b; pp.166-69, 202-05.
7. Compare Tables 'B' and 'C'.

Pahar Singh Bundila, who served in the Qandhar expeditions under Aurangzeb in 1649,[1] was promoted from 3000/3000 with 2000 _do aspa sih aspa_ to 4000/3000 with 3000 _do aspa sih aspa._[2] In 1652, Pahar Singh also served with Prince Dara Shukoh in the Qandhar expeditions.[3] But till his death in 1654, he did not receive further promotion.[4] After his death, his son Sujan Singh was promoted to 2000/2000 with _do as-pa sih aspa_.[5] The title of Raja was also conferred upon him.[6] In 1656, he served with Qasim Khan against Prithvi Singh of Srinagar-Garhwal.[7] Afterwards, he was sent to the Deccan to serve under Prince Aurangzeb.[8] After Pahar Singh's death his second son Indraman was also taken into imperial service with a _mansab_ of 500/200.[9] Indraman also served in the campaign against Prithvi Singh of Srinagar-Garhwal[10]

---

1. Waris, pp.74-76, 95-96.
2. _Ibid._, p.198, See also Ranawat, _Shah Jahan ke Hindu Mansabdars_, p.27; _Ma'asir-ul Umara_, II, pp.256-260.
3. Waris, pp.202-205.
4. Waris, p.198; _Ma'asir-ul Umara_, II, pp.258-260.
5. Waris, f.261a.
6. _Amal-i Salih_, III, p.197; Waris, f.199a.
7. Waris, pp.320-21.
8. _Ibid._, pp.363-65.
9. _Ma'asir-ul Umara_, II, pp.258-60.
10. Waris, pp.320-21.

and he was subsequently promoted to 500/400.[1] Two of Pahar Singh's brothers Puran Mal and Chandra Bundila who served with Prince Aurangzeb in the Qandhar expeditions[2] enjoyed the *mansabs* of 1500/1500[3] and 1500/800[4] respectively.

It seems that during the third decade (1647-1657 A.D.), the *zat mansab* of Debi Singh Bundila was reduced from 2500 to 2000 *zat*,[5] while his *suwar* rank was enhanced from 2000 to 3000.[6] But after his particpation in the Qandhar expeditions with Aurangzeb and Dara Shukoh,[7] he was appointed the *faujdar* of *sarkar* of Bhilsa in the *suba* of Malwa.[8] Towards the close of Shah Jahan's reign, Champat Bundila, who did not belong to the Bundila royal family of Orcha, was taken in the imperial service with the *mansab* of 500/500.[9]

During the third decade (1647-1657 A.D.), there was no substantial change in the position of the Hada nobles. Their

---

1. Waris, f.269a.
2. Waris, pp.75-76, 95-96, 202-205.
3. *Ibid.*, f.262b.
4. *Ibid.*, p.204; Ranawat, *Shah Jahan ke Hindu Mansabdars*, p.31.
5. Lahori, II, p.725; Waris, f.261b.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Waris, pp.75-76, 95-96, 202-205.
8. *Ibid.*, p.282.
9. *Ibid.*, f.269a.

number in the imperial service remained at three. The total _zat mansabs_ of the three Hada nobles increased from 6,800 to 7800, but their _suwar_ rank remained unchanged at 6400.[1]

In 1648, when Rao Satrsal Hada distinguished himself in the Balkh and Badakhshan campaigns,[2] and he was promoted from 3000/3000 to 3500/3500.[3] He was subsequently sent to Qandhar with Aurangzeb and Dara Shukoh.[4] In 1656, Satrsal was sent to the Deccan to serve under Aurangzeb.[5] There he performed distinguished service,[6] so that towards the end of the decade, he held the _mansab_ of 4000/4000.[7]

In 1648, after the death of Madho Singh who held the _mansab_ of 3000/3000,[8] his son Mukund Singh was assigned the _mansab_ of 2000/1500.[9] In the same year, he was promoted to 2000/2000.[10]

---

1. Compare Tables 'B' and 'C'.
2. Waris, pp.74-76, 94-95; _Ma'asir-ul Umara_, II, pp.261-63.
3. _Amal-i Salih_, III, p.71.
4. Waris, pp.202-05; _Ma'asir-ul Umara_, II, pp.261-62.
5. _Ma'asir-ul Umara_, II, pp.262-63.
6. _Ibid._
7. Waris, f.259b.
8. _Ibid._, f.260a.
9. _Ma'asir-ul Umara_, III, pp.509-10.
10. _Ibid._

After serving with Aurangzeb in the Qandhar expeditions, he was promoted to 2500/2000.[1] In 1654, after he had served in the Qandhar expedition under Dara Shukoh, he was promoted to 3000/2000.[2] Upon Madho Singh's death, his younger son Mohan Singh was also taken into imperial service and given the mansab of 800/400.[3] Another Hada noble Indrasal, who held the mansab of 800/400, died in 1651.[4] After his death none of his heirs is known to have taken into imperial service.

The mansabs of the Bhaduriya and Bargujar chiefs declined because of the deaths of some senior nobles during this period. Badan Singh Bhaduriya who served with Aurangzeb and Dara Shukoh in the Qandhar expeditions[5] rose to the rank of 1500/1400.[6] But in 1654, after his death, his son, Maha Singh was assigned the lower mansab of 1000/800 with the title of Raja.[7] Towards the close of Shah Jahan's reign, he was promoted to 1000/1000 and

1. Ma'asir-ul Umara, III, pp.509-10.
2. Waris, pp.202-05; f.260b; Ma'asir-ul Umara, III, pp.509-10.
3. Waris, f.266a.
4. Ibid., f.266a.
5. Ibid., pp.75-76, 202, 205; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.228-30.
6. Waris, ff.122b, 170b.
7. Ibid., f.170b; Amal-i Salih, III, p.465.

appointed the *faujdār* of Khanwa.[1] In 1648, after the death of Rāja Jai Rām Bargujar who held the *mansab* of 2000/1500,[2] his son Amar Singh was given the *mansab* of 500/500 only with the title of Raja.[3]

Chauhān chiefs Chatrbhuj and Ballu served with Aurangzeb and Dāra Shukoh in the Qandhār campaigns[4] and in reward of their services, their *mansabs* were increased. Chatrbhuj was promoted from 700/500 to 1500/1500 with *do aspa sih aspa*.[5] In 1654, the *pargana* Dun was assigned to him as his *waṭan jāgīr*.[6] Another senior Chauhān noble Ballu who also served in the Qandhār expeditions was promoted from 500/300 to 700/300.[7] But Ballu's son, Sakat Singh who served in the Qandhar expeditions[8] and held the *mansab* of 500/250[9] is not mentioned as *mansabdār* in the *mansab* lists of Waris and Ṣāliḥ Kambu. Nothing too is known

---

1. *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p,240; *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ*, III, p.465.
2. Lāhorī, II, p.608; Wāris, p.13.
3. Wāris, p.13; *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ*, III, p.481.
4. Wāris, pp.74-76, 202-05.
5. Wāris, f.262b.
6. *Ibid.*, p.302.
7. *Ibid.*, pp.74-76, 202-05; f.267a.
8. *Ibid.*, pp.74-76, 202-05.
9. Lāhorī, II, p.748.

about the *mansabs* of Pratap and Vaini Das who previously enjoyed the *mansabs* of 600/500[1] and 400/100.[2]

During this decade (1647-1657 A.D.), the *mansabs* of Kishan Singh Tunwar and Chatrbhuj Songar who served in the Qandhar expeditions[3] were enhanced from 500/500 to 1000/500[4] and from 500/500 to 600/600.[5] But the Jadon chief Jagman who also served in the Qandhar campaigns[6] did not receive any promotion and his *mansab* remained unchanged at 500/400 till his death in 1657 A.D.[7]

We have no information of *mansabs* held by Baghela and Bhati chiefs previous to this decade. Perhaps, they held *mansabs* of less than 500 *zat* which were not included in the *mansab* lists of Lahori and Waris. But in Shah Jahan's third decade (1647-1657 A.D.), Baghela and Bhati chiefs enjoyed high *mansabs*. Anup Singh Baghela and his son Fateh Singh held the *mansabs* of 3000/2000 + 1000 *do aspa sih aspa*[8] and 500/200[9]

---

1. Lahori, II, p.745.
2. *Muhta Nainsi-re Khyat*, I, p.234.
3. Waris, pp.74-76, 202-05.
4. *Ibid.*, f.264b.
5. *Ibid.*, f.268a.
6. *Ibid.*, pp.74-76, 202-05.
7. *Ibid.*, f.269a.
8. *Ibid.*, f.260a.
9. *Ibid.*, f.270a.

respectively. Sabal Singh Bhati and Prithvi Raj Bhati enjoyed the _mansabs_ of 1000/700[1] and 700/300.[2]

Among the hill Rajput chiefs, Katoch chief Raja Rajrup of Mau continued to enjoy a predominant position. Rajrup served with Aurangzeb in the Qandhar expeditions.[3] In 1650, after his performance in battle, Rajrup was promoted from 2000/2000 to 2500/2500.[4] He was also appointed _qiladar_ of the Kahmard fort.[5] Again, in 1652, he was promoted to 3000/2500.[6] Subsequently, he served with Dara Shukoh in the Qandhar expedition but did not receive any further promotion.[7]

Prithvi Raj of Chamba and Raja Man Singh of Guler did not earn any promotion in their _mansabs_ during this period. These chiefs are not known to have participated in any of the Qandhar, Mewar or Srinagar-Garhwal expeditions. Therefore, Prithvi Raj and Man Singh continued on their _mansabs_ of 1000/400[8] and 900/850.[9]

---

1. Waris, f.264a.
2. _Ibid._, f.267a.
3. _Ibid._, pp.74-76, [illegible] 94-95.
4. _Ma'asir-ul Umara_, II, pp.278-80.
5. _Ibid._
6. Waris, f.260a; _Amal-i Salih_, III, p.140.
7. Waris, pp.202-05; _Ma'asir-ul Umara_, II, pp.278-79.
8. Waris, f.264b.
9. _Ibid._, f.265a.

Upon the revolt of Prithvi Singh of Srinagar-Garhwal, Shah Jahan called upon the Kumaun chief Rai Tilok Chand to help in the rebellion; and he was assigned the mansab of 800/400.[1]

In September 1654, after the death of Sangram Singh, the chief of Jammu, who held the mansab of 1500/1000,[2] his heir Sarangdhar was assigned a mansab of 700/500[3] only. Moreover, at the time of his death Sangram Singh was the faujdar of Burhanpur.[4] Sarangdhar was only favoured with the post of the thanedar of Manjrodh in the Deccan.[5]

Thus, it emerges that throughout Shah Jahan's reign, the total number as well as the total mansabs of the Rajput nobles increased considerably. In the first decade of Emperor Shah Jahan's reign, the Rathor, Gaur, Kachawaha and Sisodia nobles who sided with the Emperor in his rebellion were rewarded by promotions. Besides, new Rajput chiefs were also recruited in the Mughal service. The revolts of Khan-i Jahan Lodi and Jujhar Singh Bundila prompted Shah Jahan to keep the Rajput nobles in

---

1. Waris, f.266a.
2. Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, p.314.
3. Waris, f.267a.
4. Ibid., p.276.
5. Ibid.

good humour. Shāh Jahān also sought to attach his favourite Rājput nobles to himself by conferring new _watan-jāgīrs_ upon them. Moreover, important offices such as _sūbedār_, _faujdār_ and _qil'adār_ were assigned to them. But the position of Bundila and Hāda nobles, who opposed Shāh Jahān in the rebellion, suffered radically.

The visible rise in the number and _mansab_ of the Rājput nobles in the second and third decades of Shāh Jahān's reign is explained in light of the Balkh, Qandhār and Mewār expeditions. The large _mansab_ enhancement at the end of third decade (1656 A.D.) does coincide with the wars of Bijāpur and Golconda. This rising fortunes might also be due to the fact that Dāra Shukoh wanted to secure their loyalty to his cause. However, in the next chapter, we shall see how far the Rājput chiefs who were favoured by Shāh Jahān stood firmly with him in the war of succession.

Table 'A'

MANSABS OF THE RĀJPUT CLANS IN 1637 A.D.

| S.No. | Clan | Number of Nobles | Mansabs |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rathor | 14 | 19,650/15,180 |
| 2. | Kachawaha | 12 | 13,300/ 9,200 |
| 3. | Sisodia | 5 | 10,700/ 7,300 |
| 4. | Gaur | 5 | 8,200/ 5,500 |
| 5. | Bundela | 5 | 8,500/ 5,600 |
| 6. | Bhaduriya | 3 | 2,500/ 1,400 |
| 7. | Hara | 4 | 7,100/ 5,400 |
| 8. | Ghelot | 2 | 2,500/ 2,500 |
| 9. | Jadon | 2 | 1,000/ 600 |
| 10. | Katoch | 2 | 1,300/ 1,150 |
| 11. | Bargujar | 1 | 1,000/ 800 |
| 12. | Chandrawat | 1 | 1,500/ 1,000 |
| 13. | Chauhan | 1 | 800/ 500 |
| 14. | Jhala | 1 | 500/ 250 |
| 15. | Pundir | 1 | 3,000/ 2,000 |
| 16. | Sodha | 1 | 800/ 300 |
| 17. | Sena | 1 | 1,000/ 300 |
| 18. | Solanki | 1 | 500/ 400 |
| | Total | 62 | 84,350/59,780 |

Table 'B'

MANSABS OF THE RAJPUT CLANS IN 1647 A.D.

| S.No. | Clan | Number of Nobles | Mansabs | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Zāt | Suwār |
| 1. | Rathor | 14 | 20,000 | 16,950 |
| 2. | Kachawaha | 18 | 17,700 | 16,000 |
| 3. | Gaur | 8 | 12,100 | 9,650 |
| 4. | Sisodia | 5 | 11,700 | 8,100 |
| 5. | Chauhan | 5 | 2,450 | 1,430 |
| 6. | Bundila | 3 | 7,000 | 7,800 |
| 7. | Hara | 3 | 6,800 | 6,400 |
| 8. | Ghelot | 2 | 2,500 | 2,500 |
| 9. | Jhala | 2 | 1,700 | 1,100 |
| 10. | Bargujar | 1 | 2,000 | 1,500 |
| 11. | Bhaduriya | 1 | 1,000 | 1,000 |
| 12. | Chandrawat | 1 | 1,500 | 1,000 |
| 13. | Katoch | 1 | 900 | 850 |
| 14. | Pundir | 1 | 2,000 | 2,000 |
| 15. | Surajbansi | 1 | 1,000 | 400 |
| 16. | Sena | 1 | 1,000 | 400 |
| 17. | Solanki | 1 | 800 | 400 |
| 18. | Jadon | 1 | 500 | 400 |
| 19. | Sengar | 1 | 500 | 500 |
| 20. | Tumwar | 1 | 500 | 500 |
| | Total | 71 | 92,150 | 74,480 |

Table 'C'

MANṢABS OF THE RĀJPUT CLANS IN 1657 A.D.

| S.No. | Clan | Number of Nobles | Manṣab | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Zāt | Suwār |
| 1. | Rathor | 23 | 28,950 | 24,230 |
| 2. | Kachawaha | 14 | 18,700 | 18,500 |
| 3. | Gaur | 12 | 14,100 | 11,700 |
| 4. | Bundela | 6 | 8,000 | 10,200 |
| 5. | Sisodia | 10 | 21,200 | 12,300 |
| 6. | Hara | 3 | 7,800 | 6,400 |
| 7. | Ghelot | 3 | 3,100 | 3,100 |
| 8. | Baghela | 2 | 3,500 | 3,200 |
| 9. | Bhati | 2 | 1,700 | 1,100 |
| 10. | Chauhan | 2 | 2,200 | 3,300 |
| 11. | Jhala | 3 | 2,400 | 1,450 |
| 12. | Bhaduriya | 1 | 1,000 | 800 |
| 13. | Pundir | 1 | 3,000 | 2,500 |
| 14. | Tunwar | 1 | 1,000 | 500 |
| 15. | Bargujar | 1 | 500 | 500 |
| 16. | Jamwal | 1 | 700 | 500 |
| 17. | Katoch | 1 | 900 | 850 |
| 18. | Surajbansi | 1 | 1,000 | 400 |
| 19. | Sombansi | 1 | 800 | 400 |
| 20. | Songar | 1 | 600 | 600 |
| 21. | Chandrawat | 1 | 2,000 | 1,000 |
| | Total | 90 | 123,150 | 103,530 |

## Appendix 'A'

## MANṢABS HELD BY ALIVE RĀJPUT CHIEFS IN 1637 A.D.

### BARGUJARS

| S.No. | Name | Mansab | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Jay Ram s/o Ani Rai Singh | 1000/800 | Lāhorī, I, 308. |

### BHADURIYAS

| S.No. | Name | Mansab | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Badan Singh | 500/200 | Lahori, I, 324. |
| 2. | Kishan Singh | 1000/600 | Ibid., 309. |
| 3. | Rai Ganesh | 1000/600 | Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign, 29. |

### BUNDILAS

| S.No. | Name | Mansab | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Raja Debi Singh s/o Raja Bhartiya | 2500/2000 | Lāhorī, I, 300. |
| 2. | Chandraman | 1500/800 | Ibid., 306. |
| 3. | Bhagwan Das s/o Bir Singh Deo | 1000/600 | Ibid., 309. |
| 4. | Beni Das s/o Bir Singh Deo | 500/200 | Ibid., 324. |
| 5. | Pahar Singh s/o Bir Singh Deo | 3000/2000 | Ibid., 205. |

### CHANDRAWAT

| S.No. | Name | Mansab | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rao Hathi Singh s/o Rao Duda | 1500/1000 | Lāhorī, I, 305. |

## CHAUHANS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Lakhmi Sen, <u>zamindar</u> of Ajaun | 800/500 | Lahori, I, 314. |

## GAURS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Raja Bethal Das | 4000/3000 | Lahori, I, 296. |
| 2. | Siv Ram s/o Bal Ram | 1500/1000 | <u>Ibid.</u>, 305. |
| 3. | Sangram, <u>zamindar</u> of Gannur | 1500/600 | Ibid., 306; Ranawat, 19. |
| 4. | Kirpa Ram Gaur | 700/700 | Lahori, I, 316. |
| 5. | Girdhar Das b/o Raja Bethal Das | 500/200 | <u>Ibid.</u>, 324. |

## SISODIAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rana Jagat Singh Sisodia | 5000/5000 | Lahori, I, 294. |
| 2. | Raja Rai Singh s/o Maharaja Bhim Sing-h | 3000/1500 | <u>Ibid.</u>, 299. |
| 3. | Shyam Singh | 1000/ 500 | <u>Ibid.</u>, 310. |
| 4. | Gokul Das | 900/ 500 | <u>Ibid.</u>, 312. |
| 5. | Sujan Singh | 800/ 300 | <u>Ibid.</u>, 315. |

## RATHORS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Raja Gaj Singh | 5000/5000 | Lahori, I, 294. |
| 2. | Amar Singh s/o Gaj Singh | 3000/2000 | <u>Ibid.</u>, 298. |

contd...

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3. | Prithvi Raj Rathor | 2000/1700 | Lahori, I, 301. |
| 4. | Rao Karan s/o Rao Sur Bhurtya | 2000/1500 | Ibid., 302. |
| 5. | Hari Singh s/o Kishan Singh | 1000/ 800 | Ibid., 308. |
| 6. | Sabal Singh s/o Raja Suraj Singh | 900/ 800 | Ibid., 312. |
| 7. | Mahesh Das s/o Dalpat Rathor | 800/ 600 | Ibid., 313. |
| 8. | Jagannath Rathor b/o Karamsi | 700/ 300 | Ibid., 317. |
| 9. | Shyam Singh s/o Karamsi | 600/ 400 | Ibid., 319. |
| 10. | Satrsal s/o Rao Sur Bhurtya | 700/ 600 | Ibid., 316. |
| 11. | Raja Udai Bhan s/o Raja Girdhar | 600/ 400 | Ibid., 319; B.K., 178. |
| 12. | Bhim Rathor | 1500/ 800 | Ibid., 306. |
| 13. | Nand Ram s/o Karam Sen | 300/ 100 | Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign, 32. |
| 14. | Mahesh s/o Karam Sen | 250/ 80 | Ibid. |

GEHLOTS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rawal Punja, zamindar of Dungarpur | 1500/1500 | Lahori, I, 304. |
| 2. | Rawal Samarsi, zamindar of Banswara | 1000/1000 | Ibid., 307. |

HADAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rao Satrsal s/o Rao Ratan | 3000/3000 | Lahori, I, 297 |
| 2. | Madho Singh s/o Rao Ratan | 3000/2000 | Ibid., 298. |
| 3. | Hirda-y Narain | 500/ 100 | Ibid., 328. |
| 4. | Indrsal s/o Rao Ratan | 600/ 300 | Ibid., 320. |

JADONS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Raja Jagman | 500/300 | Lahori, I, 322. |
| 2. | Mukand | 500/300 | Ibid., 323. |

JHALAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rawat Dayal Das | 500/250 | Lahori, I, 323. |

KACHAWAHAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Raja Jai Singh | 5000/5000 | Lahori, I, 294. |
| 2. | Ugar Sen(Shaikhawat) | 800/ 400 | Ibid., 314 |
| 3. | Har Ram s/o Bhagwan Das | 700/ 300 | Ibid., 317 |
| 4. | Rup Singh | 700/ 300 | Ibid. |
| 5. | Ugar Sen s/o Satrsal | 600/ 400 | Ibid., 319. |
| 6. | Mathura Das | 500/ 400 | Ibid., 322. |
| 7. | Tilok Chand s/o Rai Manohar (Shaikhawat) | 800/ 500 | Ibid., 314. |

contd...

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 8. | Bhoj Raj s/o Rai Sal Darbari (Shaikhawat) | 800/400 | Lāhorī, I, 314. |
| 9. | Nar Singh Da-s s/o Dwarka Das (Shai-Khawat) | 500/400 | _Ibid._, 322. |
| 10. | Gopal Singh s/o Raja Manrup | 900/600 | _Ibid._, 312. |
| 11. | Chandra Bhan Naruka | 500/400 | _Ibid._, 322. |
| 12. | Ram Das Narwari | 2000/1000 | _Ibid._, I, pp.83, 303; died in the 13th R.Y.; _M.U._, II, 226-28 |

KATOCHS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Chandra Bhan _zamīndār_ of Kangra | 500/300 | LāhorI, I, 322. |
| 2. | Raja Man Singh | 900/850 | _Ibid._, 312. |

PUNDIRS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Raja Jagat Singh s/o Raja Baso | 3000/2000 | LāhorI, I, 298. |

SODHAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rana Jodha, _zamīndār_ of Amarkot | 800/ 300 | LāhorI, I, 315. |

SENA CHANDRABANSIS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Raja Kunwar Sen of Kishtwar | 1000/300 | LāhorI, I, 311. |

SOLANKIS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Nahar Solanki | 500/400 | LāhorI, I, 322. |

Appendix 'B'

**MANSABS** HELD BY ALIVE RĀJPUT CHIEFS IN 1647 A.D.

**BARGŪJARS**

| S.No. | Name | Mansab | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāja Jai Rām | 2000/1500 | Lāhorī, II, 727. |

**BHADŪRĪYAS**

| S.No. | Name | Mansab | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāja Badan Singh | 1000/1000 | Lāhorī, II, 732. |

**BUNDĪLAS**

| S.No. | Name | Mansab | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāja Pahār Singh s/o Bīr Singh Deo | 3000/3000 2000 *do aspa sih aspa* | Lāhorī, II, 722. |
| 2. | Rāja Debī Singh s/o Bhārtiya Bundīla | 2500/2000 | *Ibid.*, 725. |
| 3. | Chandraman | 1500/ 800 | *Ibid.*, 731. |

**CHANDRĀWATS**

| S.No. | Name | Mansab | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāo Roop Singh | 1500/1000 | Lāhorī, II, 730. |

**CHAUHĀNS**

| S.No. | Name | Mansab | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Chatrbhūj | 700/500 | Lāhorī, II, 742. |
| 2. | Pratāp Singh | 600/500 | *Ibid.*, 745. |
| 3. | Ballu Chauhān | 500/300 | *Ibid.*, 747. |
| 4. | Vainī Dās s/o Ballu | 400/100 | *M.K.*, I, 234. |
| 5. | Sakat Singh s/o Vainī Dās | 500/250 | Lāhorī, II, 748; *M.K.*, I, 234. |

## GAURS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāja Bethal Dās | 5000/5000 | Lāhorī, II, 720. |
| 2. | Anirudh s/o Bethal Dās | 1500/1000 | *Ibid.*, 730. |
| 3. | Siv Rām | 1500/1000 | *Ibid.* |
| 4. | Girdhar Dās | 1000/ 800 | *Ibid.*, 733. |
| 5. | Kirpa Rām | 800/ 750 | *Ibid.*, 739. |
| 6. | Manohar Dās b/o Bethal Dās | 500/ 200 | *Ibid.*, 751. |
| 7. | Arjun s/o Rāja Bethal Dās | 1000/ 700 | *Ibid.*, 733. |
| 8. | Rāi Mukund Dās | 800/ 200 | *Ibid.*, 741; Ranawat, 104. |

## SISODIAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāna Jagat Singh | 5000/5000 | Lāhorī, II, 719. |
| 2. | Rāja Rāi Singh | 4000/2000 | *Ibid.*, 721. |
| 3. | Sujān Singh | 1500/ 500 | *Ibid.*, 732. |
| 4. | Narāin Dās | 700/ 300 | *Ibid.*, 743. |
| 5. | Hamīr Singh | 500/ 300 | *Ibid.*, 747. |

## RĀTHORS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāja Jaswant Singh | 5000/5000 2500 *do aspa sih aspa* | Lāhorī, II, 719. |
| 2. | Prithvī Rāj | 2000/2000 | *Ibid.*, 726. |
| 3. | Rāo Karan Bhūrtiya | 2000/1500 | *Ibid.* |
| 4. | Roop Singh g/e Kishan Singh | 2000/1000 | *Ibid.* |
| 5. | Ratan Singh | 1500/1500 | *Ibid.*, 729. |

contd....

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 6. | Shyām Singh s/o Karamsī | 1500/ 600 | Ibid., 731. |
| 7. | Rāi Singh s/o Amar Singh | 1000/ 700 | Ibid., 733. |
| 8. | Rāj Singh s/o Khiwān Rāthor | 1000/ 600 | Ibid., 734. |
| 9. | Gordhan | 800/ 400 | Ibid., 740. |
| 10. | Govind Dās | 500/ 250 | Ibid., 748. |
| 11. | Jaswant b/o Mahesh Dās | 500/ 250 | Ibid. |
| 12. | Kesrī Singh | 500/ 100 | Ibid., 752. |
| 13. | Rāja Udai Bhān o/o Girdhar | 700/ 400 | Ibid., 742; B.K., 178. |

GEHLOTS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāwal Punja | 1500/1500 | Lāhorī, II, 721. |
| 2. | Rāwal Samarsī | 1000/1000 | Ibid., 732. |

HĀDĀS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāo Satrsāl | 3000/3000 | Lāhorī, II, 722. |
| 2. | Mādho Singh | 3000/3000 | Ibid. |
| 3. | Indrasāl | 800/ 400 | Ibid., 742. |

JĀDONS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāja Jagmān | 500/ 400 | Lāhorī, II, 747. |

JHĀLĀS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāi Singh | 1000/700 | Lāhorī, II, 733. |
| 2. | Rāwat Dayāl Dās | 700/500 | Ibid., 742. |

KACHAWĀHAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāja Jai Singh | 5000/5000 2000 do aspa sih aspa | Lāhorī, II, 719. |
| 2. | Kunwar Rām Singh s/o Jai Singh | 1000/1000 | Ibid., 732. |
| 3. | Gopāl Singh s/o Manroop Singh | 1000/1000 | Ibid. |
| 4. | Rāja Amar Singh | 1000/ 600 | Ibid., 734. |
| 5. | Jagrām | 900/ 600 | Ibid., 738. |
| 6. | Rāi Tilok Chand | 1000/ 500 | Ibid., 735. |
| 7. | Nar Singh Dās s/o Dwārka Dās | 800/ 800 | Ibid., 739. |
| 8. | Ugar Sen | 800/ 600 | Ibid. |
| 9. | Ajab Singh s/o Satrsāl | 800/ 300 | Ibid., 741. |
| 10. | Bhoj Rāj | 700/ 500 | Ibid., 742. |
| 11. | Sangrām | 700/ 400 | Ibid. |
| 12. | Mathura Dās | 700/ 400 | Ibid. |
| 13. | Paim Chand g/o Rāi Manohar | 600/ 400 | Ibid., 745. |
| 14. | Ugar Sen g/o Rāja Mān Singh | 500/ 200 | Ibid., 749. |
| 15. | Kanhi s/o Balbhadr Shaikhāwa-t | 500/ 200 | Ibid. |
| 16. | Chandra Bhān Narooka | 700/ 500 | Ibid., 742. |
| 17. | Prithvi Singh, great-grand son of Rāja Mān Singh | 500/ 250 | Ibid., 748. |
| 18. | Kishan Singh, great-grand son of Rāja Mān Singh | 500/ 250 | Ibid., 748. |

## KATOCHS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāja Mān Singh of Guler | 900/800 | Lāhorī, II, 738 |

## PUNDĪRS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāj Rup of Mau Nūrpur | 2000/2000 | Lāhorī, II, 726; M.U., I, 321-24. |

## SENA CHANDRABANSĪS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāja Kunwar Sen of Kishtwar | 1000/ 400 | Lāhorī, II, 736. |

## SOLANKĪS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Nāhar | 800/ 400 | Lāhorī, II, 740; M.K., I, 220. |

## TUNWARS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāja Kishan Singh | 500/ 500 | Lāhorī, II, 747. |

## SONGARS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Chatr Bhūj | 500/ 500 | Lāhorī, II, 747. |

## SURAJBANSĪS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāja Prithvi Chand of Chamba | 1000/ 400 | Lāhorī, II, 736. |

## Appendix 'C'

## MANṢABS HELD BY ALIVE RĀJPUT CHIEFS IN 1657 A.D.*

### BARGŪJARS

| S.No. | Name | Manṣab | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāja Amar Singh | 500/500 | Wāris, f.269b. |

### BAGHELAS

| S.No. | Name | Manṣab | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Anoop Singh s/o Amar Singh | 3000/2000 1000 do aspa sīh aspa | Wāris, f.260b. |
| 2. | Fateh Singh b/o Anoop Singh | 500/200 | Ibid., f.271a. |

### BHADŪRĪYAS

| S.No. | Name | Manṣab | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Maha Singh s/o Badan Singh | 1000/800 | Wāris, f.264a. |

### BHĀTĪS

| S.No. | Name | Manṣab | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāwal Sabal Singh | 1000/700 | Wāris, f.264b. |
| 2. | Prithvi Rāj | 700/300 | Ibid., f.267b. |

### BUNDĪLAS

| S.No. | Name | Manṣab | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāja Sujān Singh | 2000/2000 do aspa sīh aspa | Wāris, f.261b. |
| 2. | Rāja Debī Singh | 2000/2000 500 do aspa sīh aspa | Ibid. |

contd..

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3. | Puran Mal b/o Pahār Singh | 1500/1500 | _Ibid._, f.263a. |
| 4. | Champat | 500/ 500 | _Ibid._, f.269b. |
| 5. | Inder Man s/o Pahār Singh | 500/ 400 | _Ibid._ |
| 6. | Chandraman | 1500/ 800 | Wāris, p.204; Ranawat, 31. |

CHANDRĀWATS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāo Amar Singh | 2000/1000 | Wāris, f.262b. |

CHAUHĀNS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Chatr Bhuj | 1500/1500 _do aspa sih aspa_ | Wāris, f.263a. |
| 2. | Ballu | 700/ 300 | _Ibid._, f.267b. |

GAURS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Girdhar Dās b/o Rāja Bethal Dās | 2000/2000 | Wāris, f.262a. |
| 2. | Arjun Singh s/o Rāja Bethal Dās | 2000/1500 | _Ibid._; _V.V._, 368. |
| 3. | Rāja Siv Rām | 2000/1500 | _Ibid._, f.262a. |
| 4. | Bhīm s/o Rāja Bethal Dās | 1000/ 400 | _Ibid._, 264b. |
| 5. | Kirpa Rām | 800/ 750 | _Ibid._, 266a. |
| 6. | Manohar Dās b/o Rāja Bethal Dās | 800/ 400 | _Ibid._ |
| 7. | Harjan s/o Girdhar Dās | 500/ 300 | _Ibid._, 269a. |
| 8. | Harjas s/o Rāja Bethal Dās | 500/ 200 | _Ibid._, 269b. |
| 9. | Bhāo Singh b/o Rāja Bethal Dās | 500/ 200 | _Ibid._ |
| 10. | Bahrām b/o Rāja Bethal Dās | 500/ 200 | _Ibid._ |
| 11. | Ranchor b/o Rāja Bethal Dās | 500/ 150 | _Ibid._, 270a. |
| 12. | Rāja Anirudh | 3000/3000 2000 _do aspa sih aspa_ | _M.U._, II, 276-77; Wāris, f.260a; _V.V._, 365. |

## GEHLOTS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāwal Punja | 1500/1500 | Wāris, 262b. |
| 2. | Rāwal Samarsi | 1000/1000 | *Ibid.*, 263b. |
| 3. | Girdhar Dās s/o Rawal Punja | 600/ 600 | *Ibid.*, 268a. |

## HĀDAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāo Satrsāl | 4000/4000 | Wāris, 25a. |
| 2. | Mukund Singh | 3000/2000 | *Ibid.*, 260b. |
| 3. | Mohan Singh s/o Mādho Singh | 800/ 400 | *Ibid.*, 266a. |

## JAMWĀLS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Sārangdhar g/o Rāja Sangrām Singh of Jammu | 700/ 500 | Wāris, 267a. |

## JHĀLĀS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāi Singh | 1000/700 | Wāris, 262b; *V.V.*, 372. |
| 2. | Rāwat Dayāl Dās | 900/500 | Wāris, 265a. |
| 3. | Barsa or Parsa, b/o Rāi Singh | 500/ 250 | *Ibid.*, 217; Ranawat, 37, 95, 108. |

## KACHAWĀHAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāja Jai Singh | 5000/5000 4000 *do aspa sih aspa* | Wāris, 259b. |
| 2. | Rām Singh s/o Rāja Jai Singh | 3000/2000 | *Ibid.*, 260b. |
| 3. | Rāja Amar Singh | 1500/1000 | *Ibid.*, 262b. |
| 4. | Gopāl Singh s/o Manroop | 1000/1000 | *Ibid.*, 263b. |

contd....

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5. | Kirat Singh s/o Rāja Jai Singh | 1000/900 | Ibid. |
| 6. | Jagrām | 1000/800 | Ibid. |
| 7. | Ugar Sen | 800/600 | Ibid., 266a. |
| 8. | Ajab Singh | 800/400 | Ibid., 266b. |
| 9. | Fateh Singh | 700/300 | Ibid., 268a. |
| 10. | Bhoj Rāj Khangar | 1000/500 | Ibid., 264b. |
| 11. | Nar Singh Dās s/o Dwārka Dās | 800/800 | Ibid., 265b; Ranawat, 95. |
| 12. | Mahru s/o Rāja Jai Singh | 900/300 | V.V., 374. |
| 13. | Chandra Bhān | 700/500 | Wāris, 267a. |
| 14. | Harī Singh s/o Chandra Bhān | 500/300 | Ibid., 269a. |

KATOCHS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāja Mān Singh s/o Rāja Roop Singh | 900/850 | Wāris, 265a. |

PUNDĪRS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāja Rājroop of Mau Nūrpur | 3000/2500 | Wāris, 260a. |

RĀTHORS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Mahārāja Jaswant Singh | 6000/6000 5000 do aspa sih aspa | Wāris, 259b. |
| 2. | Roop Singh | 4000/4000 | Ibid., 260a. |
| 3. | Rāo Karan | 3000/2000 | Ibid., 260b. |
| 4. | Shyām Singh or Rām Singh s/o Karamsī | 3000/1500 | Ibid. |

contd...

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5. | Rāi Singh g/o Rāja Gaj Singh | 1500/1000 | Ibid., 262b. |
| 6. | Udai Bhān s/o Shyām Singh | 1000/500 | Ibid., 264a. |
| 7. | Gordhan Dās | 1000/500 | Ibid., 264b. |
| 8. | Mahesh Dās | 1000/500 | Ibid. |
| 9. | Rāja Udai Bhān s/o Girdhar | 800/500 | Ibid., 266a. |
| 10. | Sher Singh s/o Rām Singh | 800/300 | Wāris, 266b. |
| 11. | Jagat Singh s/o Prithvi Rāj | 700/300 | Ibid., 267b. |
| 12. | Kesri Singh s/o Prithvi Rāj | 600/200 | Ibid., 268b. |
| 13. | Rām Singh b/o Prithvi Rāj | 500/200 | Ibid., 270a. |
| 14. | Nāhar s/o Rāj Singh | 900/400 | Ibid., 265a. |
| 15. | Sujān Singh s/o Muhkam Singh | 1000/500 | Ibid., 264a. |
| 16. | Ishwar Singh s/o Amar Singh | 600/200 | Ibid., 268b. |
| 17. | Rāi Banmāli Dās s/o Rāo Karan of Bikāner | 1000/100 | V.V., 373. |
| 18. | Fateh Singh s/o Mahesh Dās | 250 | Bahi, p.12. |
| 19. | Jujhār Singh s/o ,, ,, | 200/25 | Ibid. |
| 20. | Rup Singh s/o Gordhan | 400/50 | Ibid. |
| 21. | Ratan Singh s/o Gordhan | 200/25 | Ibid. |
| 22. | Udai Singh s/o Rām Singh | 100/30 | Ibid., 16. |
| 23. | Kalyān Dās s/o Mahesh Dās | 400/400 | Ibid., 17. |

SISODIAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāna Rāj Singh | 5000/5000 | Wāris, 260b. |
| 2. | Rāi Singh | 5000/2500 | Wāris, 197; M.U., II, 298-300. |
| 3. | Biram Deo b/o Sujān Singh | 3000/1000 | Wāris, 261a. |
| 4. | Sabal Singh | 2500/1500 | Ibid. |

contd...

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5. | Sujān Singh | 2000/800 | Ibid., 262b. |
| 6. | Fateh Singh s/o Sujān Singh | 500/200 | Ibid., 270a. |
| 7. | Chana Sisodia | 500/200 | Wāris, 270a. He is noted as Hubba Sisodia by Ranawat, p.38. |
| 8. | Sultān Sisodia | 500/100 | Wāris, 270b. |
| 9. | Sunder Dās | 700/300 | Ibid., 213; Ranawat, 213. |
| 10. | Gharib Dās | 1500/700 | Wāris, 204; Ranawat, 31. |

SOMBANSIS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāi Tilok Chand of Kumaon | 800/400 | Wāris, 266a; Vigat, II, 294. |

SONGAR

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Chatrbhuj | 600/600 | Wāris, 268a. |

SURAJBANSIS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Prithvī Chand of Chamba | 1000/400 | Wāris, 264b. |

TUNWARS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rāja Kishan Singh | 1000/500 | Wāris, 264b |

* I owe for this mansab information of Wāris' Bādshāhnāma, (MS. I.O. Lib.), to Sunita I. Zaidi.

Appendix 'D'

OFFICES HELD BY RĀJPUT CHIEFS DURING SHĀH JAHĀN'S REIGN (1627-1658 A.D.)

| S.No. | Year | Name | Clan | Office | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 1631 | Bethal Dās | Gaur | Qil'adār of Ranthambhor | M.U., II, 250-54. |
| 2. | Aug. 1632 | Kirpa Rām | Gaur | Faujdār of Chakla Hisar | Lāhorī, I, 432. |
| 3. | 1633 | Bethal Dās; his son Anirudh Gaur was made his deputy | Gaur | Ṣūbadār of Ajmer | Tabā Tabāi, 94; M.U., II, 250-54. |
| 4. | 1635 | Jagat Singh s/o Bāsu | Pundīr | Thānadār of Bangash | M.U.,II,238-41. |
| 5. | 1635 | Karan Singh Bhurtiya | Rāthor | Qil'adār of Daulatabād | M.U., II, 287-88. |
| 6. | 1636 | Girdhar Dās | Gaur | Qil'adār of Jhānsi | M.U.,II,250-54. |
| 7. | 1637 | Siv Rām | Gaur | Qil'adār of fort Asir | Lāhorī, I, 304; M.U., II, 263-64. |
| 8. | 1638 | Bethal Dās | Gaur | Qiladar of Akbarabād | Lāhorī, II, 110; M.U., II, 250-52. |
| 9. | 1639 | Jagat Singh s/o Bāsu | Pundīr | Faujdār of Bangash | M.U., II, 239-41. |
| 10. | 1639 | Rāja Rāj Rup s/o Rāja Jagat Singh | Pundīr | Faujdār of Koh Kāngra | Lāhorī, II, 127, 237; M.U.,II,277. |
| 11. | 1639-40 | Amar Singh Narwarī | Kacha-waha Rājawat | Qil'adār of fort Narwar | Lāhorī,II,174; M.U.,II,226-28. |
| 12. | 1641 | Jagat Singh s/o Bāsu | Pundīr | Faujdār of Daman koh in Kāngra | M.U.,II,240-41. |
| 13. | 1642 | ,, | ,, | Qil'adār of Qalat in the province of Qandhār | M.U.,II,240-41 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 14. | 1643-44 | Prithvī Raj | Rāthor | *Qil'adār* of Daulatabād | *M.U.*, I, 429-31. |
| 15. | 1645-46 | ,, | ,, | *Qil'adār* of Agra | *Ibid.* |
| 16. | 1646 | Rāja Rāj Rup s/o Rāja Jagat Singh | Pundīr | *Qil'adār* of a fort lying between Sarāb and Andrab | *M.U.*, II, 277-81. |
| 17. | 1646-47 | Pratāp Singh | Chauhān | *Qil'adār* of Dharab | *Z.K.*, III, 115. |
| 18. | 1646-47 | Kishan Singh | ,, | *Qil'adār* of Jula or Chula | *Ibid.* |
| 19. | Sept.1647 | Shyām Singh s/o Karamsī | Rāthor | *Faujdār* of Baglāna | Wāris, 10. |
| 20. | Aug.1648 | Siv Rām | Gaur | *Qil'adār* of Kābul | Lāhorī, II, 641. |
| 21. | 1649 | Rāja Rājrup | Pundīr | *Qil'adār* of Kahmard (in Qandhar) | *M.U.*, II, 279-81. |
| 22. | Sept.1650 | Rāo Karan | Rāthor | *Qil'adār* of Daulatabad | Wāris, 126; *M.U.*, II, 276-77. |
| 23. | c.1650 | Mirzā Rāja Jai Singh | Kacha-waha | *Faujdār* of Delhi | *Z.K.*, III, 118. |
| 24. | Sept.1650-51 | Kirat Singh | Kacha-waha Rājawat | *Faujdār* of Mewat | *Farmān, nishan and Manshurs*, n.77, RSA Bikaner; *M.U.*, II, 156-58. |
| 25. | Jan.1651 | Anirudh s/o Bethal Dās | Gaur | *Qil'adār* of Ranthambhor | Wāris, 154-55. |
| 26. | Oct.1652 | Manohar Dās b/o Bethal Dās | Gaur | *Qil'adār* of Asir | *Ibid.*, 194. |
| 27. | May 1653 | Nar Singh Dās s/o Dwarka Dās | Shai-khāwat | *Qil'adār* of Khaiber | *Ibid.*, 234. |
| 28. | Feb.1654 | Kishan Singh s/o Rāja Mān Singh | Kacha-waha Rājawat | *Qil'adār* of Tārāgarh | *Ibid.*, 254. |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 29. | Sept.1654 | Rāja Sangrām of Gunner | Chauhān | *Faujdār* of Burhānpur | Wāris, 276. |
| 30. | ,, | Sārangdhar g/e Rāja Sangrām | Jāmwāl | *Thānadār* of Manjrodh | *Ibid.*, |
| 31. | Nov.1654 | Rāja Debī Singh | Bundela | *Faujdār* of Bhinsror or Bhilsa | *Ibid.*; *M.U.*,II,295 |
| 32. | ,, | Prithvī Rāj | Rāthor | *Faujdār* of Ajmer | Wāris, 279-80. |
| 33. | Oct.1655 | Girdhar s/o Rāwat Punja | Gehlot | *Thānadār* of Azamabād | *Ibid.*, 311. |
| 34. | Dec.1655 | Girdhar Dās | Gaur | *Qilʻadār* of Agra | *Ibid.*, 318-19. |
| 35. | Sept.1657 | ,, | ,, | *Faujdār* of Agra | *Ibid.*, 366-67; *ʻAmal-i Ṣālih*, III, 237. |
| 36. | ,, | Parduma-n b/o Girdhar Dās | ,, | *Qilʻadār* of Agra | Wāris, 366-67; *ʻAmal-i Ṣālih*, III, 237. |
| 37. | 1658 | Siv Rām | ,, | *Qilʻadār* of Mandu | *ʻAmal-i Ṣālih*, III, 271; *M.U.*, II, 265. |

## Chapter IV

## THE AUTONOMOUS PRINCIPALITIES: WATAN JĀGĪRS

As Irfan Habib has pointed out, the watan-jāgīrs originated from admission of zamīndārs or territorial chiefs into the Mughal service. The jāgīrs allotted to zamīndārs entering the Mughal service within their old dominions were known as their watans and then were allowed to remain with their families.[1] Nurul Hasan holds that the Mughal emperors treated the hereditary dominions of the autonomous chiefs as watan jāgīrs. There was no difference between ordinary jāgīr and watan jāgīr except the latter was hereditary in nature and immune from transfer.[2] Although theoretically the King was entitled to determine the succession to the watan-jāgīrs, it was ordinarily allowed to take place according to the customary rules of the individual ruling clans.[3]

---

1. The Agrarian System of Mughal India (1556-1707 A.D.), p.184; M. Athar Ali, The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, p.79.
2. Nurul Hasan, 'Zamindars under the Mughals', Land Control And Social Structure in Indian History, p.21.
3. Ibid. See also Chapter V on Succession to Watan-jagirs.

It is not known as to exactly what conditions were offered to the Rajput chiefs with respect to their principalities at the time of their joining Akbar's service. One cannot, however, fail to note that the term *watan jagir* does not occur in any one of records and chronicles of Akbar's reign. Even Abul Fazl does not refer to the original principalities or *zamindaris* of the Rajput chiefs in the imperial service as *watan jagirs*. He calls these places by term like *mawtin*, *maskan*, *manzil*, *bungah*, *khana* and *zamindari* etc.[1] Even when, at one place, he refers to Jodhpur as the *jagir* of Mota Raja, he does not use any prefix to indicate the special nature of this assignment.[2]

This would strongly suggest that the arrangement under which the *parganas* of hereditary principalities of the Rajput nobles came to be treated, during the 17th century, as their permanent assignments or *watan jagirs*, did not exist in all its essential features during the 16th century.

Yet it is known in many cases the chiefs recruited in the Mughal service under Akbar continued to enjoy special rights

---

1. *Akbarnama*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1873-87, III, 15, 184, 220, 221, 326.

2. *Ibid.*, 662.

and privileges within their original *zamindaris* as well as in relation to members of their clans. This situation tended to resemble the arrangement that later existed in the form of *watan-jagirs*.

One may infer that till 1573 or in other words till the introduction of *dagh-o-chehra* regulations, the assignments of the Rajput chiefs recruited in Akbar's service during sixties were confi/med mainly to their hereditary principalities. It is important to note, in this connection, that, till 1573, one does not come across any instance of the bestowal of a *jagir* on a Rajput noble in region far removed from his original dominion. From this it may be deduced that till this time, their original dominion were the only territories that were left with them as their assignments. The earliest and the only direct evidence about the bestowal of a *jagir* on a Rajput chief prior to 1573 is a statement by Badauni that in 1570, *pargana* Arail was given as *jagir* to Raja Ram Chandra of Bhatta.[1] But as we know on the authority of the Afghan chronicle *Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani* that till Sikandar Lodi's reign Arail was a part of the Bhatta principality.[2] One may, therefore, treat this evidence as

---

1. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, II, p.120.
2. *Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahan Lodi*, p.179. In the *Ain-i Akbari*, Abul Fazl says that *sarkar* Bhatta comprised thirty nine *mahals* but the names of the *parganas* are not mentioned. In the *Akbarnama* (III, p.728), we find that the territory of Bhatta was in the *zamindari* of Baghelas.

suggesting the restoration of the *pargana* originally held by the Baghela to him rather than the bestowal of a new *jagir*. Akbar's practice of assigning to the chiefs the *parganas* situated within their own dominions is also borne by three stray references in the *Akbarnama*, *Muhta Nainsi-ra-Khyat* and *Dalpat Vilas*. In 1575, Sambhar and Bikaner were in the *jagirs* of the chiefs in whose ancestral territories these were located.[1] In 1577, Akbar laid the foundation of the fort of Mul Manoharnagar and after the completion of the fort, Akbar assigned it to Manohar Das, *zamindar* of that place.[2]

Regarding Amber we do not come across a clear cut statement anywhere in the sources of Akbar's reign, including *Akbarnama*, to the effect that it was left in the *jagir* of Bhar Mal or any one of his successors. Yet on the basis of indirect evidence, one may infer that at the time the Kachawahas were recruited into the Mughal service, Bhar Mal was allowed to retain his original territory as a *jagir*-cum-military charge. For instance, it is known that subsequent to Bhar Mal's entry in Akbar's service, he as well as his successors were usually in attendance upon the King or serving in various capacities in

---

1. *Muhta Nainsi-ra-Khyat*, I, p.306; *Dalpat Vilas*, p.33.
2. *Akbarnama*, III, p.221.

the different parts of the empire, but unlike the ordinary nobles, they were having their personal establishments at Amber.[1] They would occasionally :s visit Amber and hold marriage ceremonies of the members of their family and similar other functions in that place. It is in the context of such occasions that Abul Fazl uses the terms mautin and maskan,[2] which tends to indicate that from the very beginning the territories of the original zamindaris of the Kachawaha chiefs entering the Mughal service were treated as their permanent headquarters or even jagirs.

A similar policy was pursued in the case of the thikanas and pattas of the ordinary Kachawaha chiefs like Amarsar, Sambnar, Lawan, Narains and Deosa.[3] It may be presumed that in their capacities of military commanders or hakims, the Kachawaha nobles of lesser ranks holding their thikanas or pattas as jagir-cum-military charges, were in a subordinate position to the Rajawat chief of Amber. At least this much is fully established that even after the entry of Kachawaha nobles in the

1. Akbarnama, III, p.339.

2. Ibid.

3. Muhta Nainsi-re-Khyat, I, pp.304, 318; Akbarnama, II, pp.156-57.

Mughal service the ordinary Kachawāha chiefs continued to regard the Rājāwat chiefs as their superiors and leaders. This is borne by the fact that on occasions the king himself would be forced to take help from the Rājāwat chief for pacifying an individual Kachawāha noble's feeling disgruntled for one or the other reason. For instance, in 1572, it was only at Bhagwant Dās' intervention that Rupsi was persuaded to apologise for his rude behaviour towards Akbar.[1] Again, in 1583, Akbar had to take the help of Jagannāth for persuading Udai Singh to give up his insistence that his mother should perform sati along with the dead body of his father.[2]

However, it appears that while conferring the parganas of their original principalities on the Rājāwat chiefs, Akbar had taken some of the mahals of the pargana of Āmber under his direct control. These mahals were given by the Emperor as jagirs or ma'āfi grants to men of his choice who were not always Kachawāhas. It is known on the strength of a document, preserved in the Rajasthan State Archives, Bikāner that around 1597, Akbar had given village Punvaliya in pargana

---

1. Akbarnāma, III, 49-50.
2. Ibid., p.402; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, p.110.

Amber as *udak* (*madad-i ma'ash*) to Dhani Ram Joshi, a Brahman.[1] Similarly, Sanganir, a *mahal* in *pargana* Amber was given as *jagir* to Ram Das Udawat in 1572.[2] At the same time, Ram Das was also appointed the *kotwal* of Sanganir.[3] This evidence is an ample indication of the fact that in 1597, a part of the revenues of *pargana* Amber were controlled by the central government.

Akbar's policy of taking away a part of the revenues of the principality of a chief entering his service and of giving them as assignment to men of his own choice is borne still more clearly from the manner in which Akbar appears to have curtailed the extent of the territory held by the Rathor chief of Jodhpur on the death of Rao Chandra Sen. This is suggested by the fact that the rulers of Jodhpur are reported to have controlled vast territory before they took up service under Akbar. The chiefs of Jodhpur possessed Jodhpur, Bhadrajun, Jalor, Siwana, Sanchor, Phalodi, Merta, Ajmer, Chatsu, Tonk, Toda and Malpura under their control.[4] But on Chandra Sen's

---

1. The document is available in the old records file of Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner.
2. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, II, p.442; *Ma'asir-i Rahimi*, I, p.804.
3. *Ibid.*; *Muhta Nainsi-ra-Khyat*, I, p.331.
4. *Marwar-ra-Pargana-ra-Vigat*, I, pp.43-45.

death in 1583, Udai Singh's territory was limited to *pargana* Jodhpur.[1] Apparently, the original *pargana* of the Rathor chiefs other than Jodhpur were either taken into *khalisa* or were assigned to the petty Rathor chiefs who were entering the imperial service in their individual capacities. It might be assumed that this policy of assigning small *jagirs* to petty Rajput officers in the territory taken away from an autonomous chief was conceived by Akbar as an effective instrument for breaking the resistance of a chief reluctant to submit to him on the terms that he was offering. This policy became discernible first of all in the case of the Rathors of Jodhpur when they were being pressurised by Akbar to submit to him. In 1559, when Jaitaran was annexed from Jodhpur, it was assigned as *jagir* to two Rathor *sardars*, Kalyan Das and Gopal Das[2] and *pargana* Sojat was assigned as *jagir* to Rao Ram Rathor.[3] Similar cases of assignments are also traceable in the territory of Mewar. In 1568, Rao Surjan Hada, a subordinate *sardar* of Rana Pratap of Mewar, was allowed to retain his territory Bundi on entering Akbar's service.[4] Another similar case was that of

---

1. *Marwar-ra-Pargana-ra-Vigat*, I, pp.76-77.
2. *Ibid.*, II, p.495.
3. *Akbarnama*, III, p.34.
4. *Muhta Nainsi-ra-Khyat*, I, pp.110, 112.

Rao Durga of who, on taking up the Mughal service, was allowed to hold his *thikana* Rampura.[1] Rawal Askaran of Dungarpur and Rawal Pratap of Banswara, when they crossed over to the Mughal, were not disturbed in their *thikanas*.[2] After the entry of these *sardars* into the imperial service, their *thikanas* held by them were recognised as *jagirs* granted to them by the Emperor. This is clearly suggested by evidence relating to the entry of ruler of Mewar in the Mughal service in 1615. At this time, these *thikanadars* were no more treated as subordinates of the Rana, Even after the treaty of 1615, between the Rana and the Mughals, they continued to be in the service of the Mughal rulers and their original *thikanas* were treated as their *watan-jagirs*.

The entry of the Rajput chiefs in the Mughal service brought about in fact as well as in theory drastic change in their position. First, their semi-autonomous control over their charge would not be concomitant with their jurisdiction as the *jagirdars* of the area. They could be deprived of one or the other position by the king at his will. This policy was in consonance with the notion that the nobles were in the position

---

1. *Vir Vinod*, pp.983-84.
2. *Ibid.*, pp.984-87; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II, pp.142-43.

of the royal threshold (*bandagan-i dargah*).[1] This notion laid the basis for Akbar's exercise of the royal power for curtailing the privileges and claims of the Rajput chiefs in regard of their ancestral territories.

As already suggested, the *pattas* and *thikanas* of the minor Rajput chiefs were recognised as their *jagirs* on their entry in the Mughal service. As a consequence of this practice, the control of the bigger chiefs entering the Mughal service with their original principalities would basically be that of the *hakims* or *faujdars* of the areas and obviously they would not have the same kind of claim over the revenues of their *zamindaris* as must have been the case earlier. Thus, it would seem that the situation of administrative jurisdiction inside the Rajput territories at that entry stage must have been rather fluid.

In this situation, one might imagine, the Rajput chiefs would tend to become sensitive regarding their position vis-a-vis their *zamindaris* or *watans* and they would be prone to resist any move to further limit their jurisdiction over these territories. This kind of tension between the central authority and the newly recruited Rajput chiefs tended to accentuate on

---

1. M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, pp.63-64; I.A. Khan, *The Political Biography of a Mughal Noble - Munim Khan Khan-i Khanan*, p.xii.

account of two kinds of developments: First, as a result of the rise of the chiefs in the imperial hierarchy to higher mansabs (or whatever categories of status obtained at the time), the income from their jagirs located within the erstwhile principalities would no longer be sufficient to meet their salary bills and, therefore, the Emperor would be called upon to make additions to their existing jagirs.[1] For this purpose, it would be necessary to assess, properly, the jama of the jagirs located in their original principalities through official machinery evolved for this purpose, thus reinforcing the process of the extension of the imperial administration over the territories left under the control of the chiefs. On the other hand, the assignment of the jagirs to these chiefs in different provinces and their appointment to command any higher offices in the state would physically remove these people from their dominions.[2] This would have provided an opportunity to the Emperor to appoint his own officers for administering these areas. Naturally, the chiefs on their part would be anxious that their status as the semi-autonomous rulers of the territories concerned should not be

---

1. Sometime around 1573, Akbar started giving jagirs to the Rajput chiefs outside the territory of their hereditary principalities. In 1573, Raja Man Singh held Khichiwara in jagir. A.N., III, p.43; M.K., I, 342.

2. This happened, for instance, in the case of the Kachawaha nobles who were stationed in the Punjab sometime before 1578 and were given jagirs there. Akbarnama, III, p.248.

disturbed and they should be allowed to control them through their agents while they were serving in positions requiring their prolonged absence from their previous charges. It would, however, seem that Akbar was not prepared to concede these privileges to the chiefs and was gradually taking steps for the integration of the administration of their territories with those of the rest of the Empire. This caused friction between the imperial authority and the chiefs. In the case of the Rājput nobles, evidence suggesting such a friction is not altogether lacking.[1]

The friction noticed above seems to have become particularly sharp in 1575, when Akbar attempted to abolish _jāgīrs_ and reduced his nobles to the position of the servants of the state, paid in cash.[2] An accompanying measure was the appointment of the _kurūrīs_ all over the Empire for managing the newly created

---

1. There are references to the appointment of _Kurūrīs_ in Bikāner and Sāmbhar. It was resented by the Rājput chiefs. _Muhta Nainsi-re-Khyāt_, I, p.306; _Dalpat Vilās_, p.33.

2. _Akbarnāma_, III, p.69. Abūl Fazl says, "accordingly, he promulgated the branding regulation, the conversion of the imperial territories into crown lands and the fixing the grades of the officers of state". There are divergent views among the modern historians regarding this measure. Moreland has interpreted ... Abūl Fazl's above passage as a drastic action to put the bulk of his service on cash salaries, and take the northern provinces under direct administration. (_The Agrarian System of Moslem India_, p.96), while M.P. Singh has cited several cases suggesting that the _jāgīrs_ already assigned to nobles were continued to be held by them ever after the promulgation of the above order. ('Akbar's Resumption of _Jagir_, 1575 - a Re-examination', _The Proceedings of Indian History Congress_, Mysore, 1966, pp.208-9).

khalisa territories.[1] It seems that while introducing these measures an attempt was made to resume the jagirs of the Rajput nobles located within their zamindaris. The fact that at least for sometime around 1575, Sambhar was taken into khalisa is borne out by Muhta Nainsi's testimony but he also tells us that this was resisted by Kachawaha chief Vijay Ram holding this pargana.[2] Similar evidence relating to Bikaner is available in the Dalpat Vilas. According to this source, when kuroris reached Bikaner in 1575, ostensibly to take over the pargana from the Raja, Rao Rai Singh's son Bhupat barred their entry into the pargana and eventually they were obliged to return from there without fulfilling their assignment.[3]

Possibly, after the abortive attempt of 1575 to abolish jagirs, Akbar gave substantial concessions to the

---

1. Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, II, p.189. "In this year a new idea came into his mind for improving the calculation of the country, whether dry or irrigated, whether in towns or hills, in desert and jungles, by rivers, reservoirs, or wells were all to be measured, and every such piece of land as, upon cultivation, would produce one kror of tankas, was to be divided off, and placed under the charge of an officer to be called krori, who was to be selected for his trustworthiness, whether known or unknown to the revenue clerks and treasurers so that in course of three years all the uncultivated land might be brought into cultivation, and the public treasury might be replenished. Security was taken from each one of these officers".

2. Muhta Nainsi-re-Khyat, I, p.306.

3. Dalpat Vilas, p.33.

nobility with an aim to mollify them. One important concession that he appears to have given to the Rajput nobles was that he exempted their jagirs located in their zamindaris territories from resumption. After 1575, we do not come across any instance of the resumption or attempted resumption of the existing jagir of a Rajput chief located in his original zamindari. Apparently, with the passage of time, this practice tended to establish a distinction between the two types of jagirs: ordinary jagirs and the jagirs located in the original zamindaris. Towards the end of Akbar's reign, it would appear that the jagirs of the chiefs located in their zamindaris as distinct from their ordinary jagirs, came to be designated as watan-jagirs. This designation is for the first time used in the context of such assignments around 1604 in one of Akbar's farmans to Raja Rai Singh of Bikaner, preserved in the Rajasthan State Archives. It is stated in this document,"Whereas the said mahal (Shamsabad) had been attached to the jāgīr of Rathors since long, we have, as a token of great favour, bestowed both the parganas (Shamsabad and Nurpur) upon him (Rai Rai Singh) as the watan-jagir".[1]

---

1. Akbar's farman to Rai Rai Singh of Bikaner. The farman (N. 14) is preserved in Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner. The term watan-jagir is used in farman for the assignment of revenues of one of the mahals of pargana Shamsabad to Rai Rai Singh on a permanent basis. From Ain-i Akbari, one comes to know that pargana Shamsabad was at this time in the zamindari of the Rathors. Ain-i Akbari, II, tr. Jarrett, Calcutta, 1949, p.196. Blochmann, Ain, II, p.507. The predecessors of Rai Singh resided in Shamsabad.

This earliest reference to the institution of *watan-jāgīr* in the Mughal records tends to specify the following characteristic features of the institution emerging at the time:

(a) That *watan-jāgīr* was given on a permanent basis, a logical corollary of which would be that, ordinarily, it would continue in the line of assignee from generation after generation.

(b) That *watan-jāgīr* would be located in a *mahal* included in the *zamīndārī* of the assignee.

(c) That the imperial authority could create the *watan-jāgīr* at its will for a noble in any part of the Empire.

II

A detailed scrutiny of the existing evidence suggests a gradual development in the specific characteristics of *watan jāgīrs* during the reign of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. While studying the working of this institution during this period, we have also made use of the evidence coming from the second half of the 17th century wherever it can usefully shed light on the institution in the earlier phase.

At the time of a Rajput noble's entry in service, he was given an initial _mansab_ carrying a salary bill that approximated to the estimated revenue of his _zamindari_, which was treated as his _watan-jagir_. However, the basic feature of _watan-jagir_ was its freedom from transfer. This is borne out clearly from a passage in the _Tuzuk-i Jahangiri_. Jahangir says, I halted in the _pargana_ of Badnor. This _pargana_ from the time of my father has been in the _jagir_ of Kesho Das Maru and infact, had become a kind of _watan_ to him. He had constructed gardens and buildings. Out of these, one was a step well (_baoli_) on the road, which appeared exceedingly pleasant and well made. It occurred to me that if a well had to be made everywhere on a road side, it should be built like this one".[1]

This indicates that owing to the permanent interests created by the Mughal Emperor in recognition of _watan jagir_, the holder would take keen interest to improve the area held as _watan jagir_. It was only on the rare occasion of a grave lapse or fault that a _watan jagir_ became vulnerable to resumption. In 1647 on the complaint of the peasants of the _watan jagir_ of Pratap Singh Chauhan, the _jagir_ was transferred, and his rank was curtailed.[2] In another case, _pargana_ Rawat, which was held

1. _Tuzuk-i Jahangiri_, 203.
2. Shaikh Farid Bhakkari does not mention the specific place held by Pratap Singh Chauhan as _watan jagir_. But he says that his _watan_ lies between Delhi and Narnol. _Zakhirat-ul Khawanin_, III, p.115.

in *watan jagir* by a certain chief Nar Singh Das, was also transferred.[1]

From Indar Singh's petition, dated Rabi-us Sani 1089 AH/ June 1678, addressed to Aurangzeb, it transpires that according to the Rajput perception of the prevailing custom at the time of the chief's succession to the *gaddi*, he was to be given a *mansab* equal to the income of the *watan*. The petition reads as follows:

"The petition of Indar Singh, son of Rao Rai Singh. It is submitted that it is a custom of the Rajputs to assign the villages belonging to the *mahal* of the *watan* to the Rajputs. At the time of necessity, they sacrifice their lives. Owing to this, after the death of the *watandar*, a *mansab*, equal to the *dams* (i.e. *jamadami*) of the *watan* is conferred (on the Rajputs). Four lakh *dams* of the *mahal* of the *watan* in Nagor are in excess (of the sanctioned salary). It is hoped that either the *mansab* may be increased (so as to have the pay cover the) excess amount, or the excess amount be written off (from the *jama*). It was ordered that an increase of 300 *suwars* in the *mansab* (of Indar Singh) be made."[2]

---

1. *Adab-i Alamgiri*, MS. f.116a.
2. *Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign*, p.121.

Indar Singh's statement that the entire revenues of his watan ought to be controlled by the holder of the watan, is corroborated by a number of examples in which the income of the watan jagir was adjusted in the sanctioned pay-claims of the Rajput chiefs. For instance, from Jahangir's farman to Rana Karan of Mewar dated 1024 AH/1615 AD, it is obvious that the jamadami of Mewar was included in the Rana's salary.[1] Similarly, one can see from the Marwar-re-pargana-ri-Vigat, the jamadami of pargana Jodhpur was always adjusted in the pay bills of the Rathor chiefs.[2] An order of Aurangzeb conferring mansabs of 7000/7000 with 5000 do aspa sih aspa and 2000/1800 on Mirza Raja Jai Singh and his son Kirat Singh respectively, is reproduced in the Marwar-re-p-argana-ri-Vigat.[3] The revenues of the watans of these two nobles namely Amber and Kama Pahari were included in their salary claims. In 1654, the jama of Dun, which was the watan of Chaturbhuj Chauhan, were adjusted against his salary.[4] An incident mentioned in a news report from Ajmer shows that the revenues of pargana Mangrol, the watan of Prag Das Gaur were included in his salary bill.[5]

---

1. Jahangir's farman to Rana Karan, Vir Vinod, II, p.239.
2. Marwar-re-Pargana-ri-Vigat, I, pp.76-7, 83,93.
3. A salary statement containing the details of the mansabs, jagirs, etc. of Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Kirat Singh has been reproduced in the Marwar-re-Pargana-ri-Vigat, II, pp.488-89.
4. Waris, Badshahnama, p.302.
5. Waq-ai Sarkar Ranthambor-wa-Ajmer, p.700.

Apart from such documentary evidence we have statements to the same effect in our authorities. In 1616, Jahangir assigned Jaisalmer to Rawal Kalyan in his *tankhwah jagir*.[1] Man Singh Gaur was assigned his *watan*, village Sampla as part of his *tankhwah jagir*.[2] It is, therefore, established beyond doubt that *watan jagir* was a part of *tankhwah jagir* of a chief and that it was not in addition to his salary against his *mansab*.

But there was another way in which the revenues of the *wa-tan* of a chief could be left under his control without assigning these in his *tankhwah*. The revenues of *watan* were allocated to the chief concerned as his '*inam*'.[3] In 1620, Raja Rup Chand Guleri, who distinguished himself in the Kangra campaign, was rewarded by converting half of his *watan* into *inam*; the rest was left to him as his *tankhwah* or *watan jagir*.[4] In another case, Jahangir seems to have conferred Kumaon as *inam* on Bahadur Chand.[5] Under Shah Jahan, a whole principality (the hill chiefdom of Nurpur) is shown to be held as *inam*:

---

1. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, p.163; Raja Bhim Narain was assigned Gadha in *watan jagir*. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, p.192.
2. *Waqai Sarkar Ranthambor wa Ajmer*, p.556.
3. An assignment without any obligation.
4. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, p.320.
5. Waris, p.331.

"It was reported (to the king) that Raja Jagat Singh had died at Peshawar, a _khilat_ was sent to his eldest son Rajrup and he was raised to the _mansab_ of 1500/1000. (He) was designated Raja and the _mahals_ of _watan_ which were held by his father as _inam_, were also conferred upon him."[1]

At the time of chief's first entry into the imperial service, it was not always necessary that the whole of his territory as chief would be recognised as his _watan jagir_. It was at the discretion of the Mughal Emperor as to how much part of the territory of achief was to be fixed as his _watan jagir_. When Prata-p of Palamau entered imperial service, his whole territory was assigned to him as _watan jagir_ against the _mansab_ of 1000/1000.[2] In case of the Hada chiefs of Bundi, we know that whole Ranthambor _sarkar_ was held by them in their _zamindari_;[3] but only a few _parganas_ namely Bundi, Kankar, Palaita and Kota were assigned in _watan jagir_ to them.[4] Some chiefs might not even be allowed a _watan jagir_ at all. Merta, which was in the _zamindari_ of the Rathor chief Keso Das Maru, was never assigned to him in _watan jagir_.[5]

---

1. Lahori, _Badshahnama_, II, pp.481-82.
2. _Ibid._, pp.360-61.
3. _Ain-i Akbari_, II, pp.509-11.
4. Lahori, _Badshahnama_, I, p.401.
5. In 1619, Merta was in the k _jagir_ of Prince Khurram. _Marwar-ra-Pargana-ra-Vigat_, I, p.106. It was assigned to certain Saadulla. _Waqai Ajmer_, pp.89-90, 112, 377.

Apart from the recognition of chief's territories as *waṭan jāgīr*, the Mughal Emperor could create the rights of *waṭan jāgīr* in any part of the Empire. In 1604, Akbar granted *pargana* Shamsabād to Rāja Rāi Singh of Bikāner in *waṭan jāgīr*.[1] It is interesting to note that the *za-mīndārs* of this *pargana* were Rāthors; and Abūl Fazl particularly says that the ancestors of the Rāja belonged to Shamsabād.[2] Akbar is also known to have conferred *pargana* Narāina in *waṭan jāgīr* on Narāin Dās Khangārot.[3] The Mughal Emperor used to encourage the nobles to bring uncultivated land under cultivation, and to establish new settlements. To promote such schemes, the Mughal Emperors created permanent rights in favour of a person who established a town or a city. When Rāja Kishan Singh Rāthor founded Kishangarh, Jahāngīr recognised this place as his *waṭan jāgīr*.[4]

Upon performance of meritorious services, the Mughal Emperors honoured their Rājput chiefs by bestowing *waṭan jāgīrs*

---

1. Akbar's *farmān* to Rāja Rāi Singh of Bikāner, preserved in RSA, Bikaner.
2. *Āīn-i Akbarī*, II, pp.509-11.
3. *Muhta Nainsī re Khyāt*, I, p.304.
4. *Vīr Vinod*, p.552; Wāris, p.305; *Muhta Nainsi re Khyāt*, III, p.217; *Imperial Gazetteer*, XV, p.317.

upon them. In 1610, when Ani Rai Singh Dalan saved Jahangir's life from a tiger, he was given pargana Anup Shahr in watan jagir.[1] Bethal Das Gaur who had shown steadfastness for Shah Jahan at his accession was granted the territory of Dhundhera as his watan jagir.[2] In 1638, when Shah Jahan conferred the succession to the gaddi of Marwar upon Jaswant Singh, superseding his elder brother Rao Amar Singh, he granted the latter some parganas of sarkar Nagor for his watan jagir.[3] In 1642, pargana Jalor was given to Mahesh Das Rathor in the watan jagir.[4]

Watan jagir was also created in the troublesome regions of the Empire so that the holders might be induced crushing the rebels effectively. For crushing Mewati refractories, Shah Jahan assigned Kama Pahari to Kirat Singh Kachwaha in watan jagir.[5]

---

1. Peter Mundy, III, p.74; District Gazetteer of United Provinces, V, p.148; Tarikh-i Buland Shahr, p.261; K.K. Trivedi, 'Non-Ruling Rajput clans in the Mughal Nobility', PIHC, 1978.
2. Lahori, I, pp.241-42, 250; II, p.8.
3. Marwar ra Pargana re Vigat, II, p.422; Waqai Sarkar Ranthambor wa Ajmer, pp.195-96; Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign, p.121.
4. Waris, p.308; Ma'asir-ul Umara, III, p.446. In 1681, Bhim Singh was given Lalai as watan jagir, Akhbara-t cited by S.R. Sharma, 'The Founder of Benaras Raj', Studies in Medieval Indian History, p.273.
5. Waris, p.138; Khafi Khan, III, p.701; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, p.156; In 1650-51, Masum Quli Khan alias Shujaat Khan, faujdar of Juna-garh, who had killed recalcitrant zamindar of Junagarh, built a fort in Masumabad . He petitioned to Shah Jahan for grant of the watandari and faujdari of Masumabad, but he was granted only the faujdari of the place. Mirat-i Ahmadi, Supp., p.216.

On similar considerations, the Dun was given to Chaturbhuj Chauhan in the watan jagir.[1] Further, we find from a Vakil's Report that in September 1693, Ratan Singh Kachawaha solicited the grant of Nau Nehra in watan jagir to quell the rebels there.[2]

We have said that the estimated income (jama) of the watan jagir determined the minimum mansab that had to be assigned to every succeeding Rajput chief. But it should not be considered that the watan jagir remained a fixed unit once it was recognised by the Mughal Emperors. The Emperors could increase or reduce the size of the watan jagir. In 1630, when the Kachawaha nobles distinguished themselves in the war against Jujhar Singh Bundela and Khan-i Jahan Lodi, Shah Jahan increased their watan jagirs as well as mansabs.[3] As for the watan jagir of the Rathor chiefs of Jodhpur, we know that pargana Jodhpur was a small unit until the reign of Raja Gaj Singh, but at a certain time during the reign of Jaswant Singh, other parganas were

---

1. Waris, p.302; Sayyid Khan Jahan Barha, ~~noble~~, desired to get watan jagir to quell the recalcitrants in the vicinity of Gwalior. Maktubat-i Muzaffar Khan, Khan-i Jahan, MS. ff.4a and b.

2. Waqai Papers, No.495, RSA Bikaner.

3. Shah Jahan's farman to Mirza Raja Jai Singh, Sarkar Collection, Calcutta. I owe this information to Mr Iqtidar Alam Khan.

annexed to the pargana of Jodhpur former thereafter its sub-units or tappas.[1] This consequently enlarged the extent of pargana Jodhpur which was held by the Rāthor chiefs as their watan jāgīr.[2] With the enlargement of the watan, the mansabs of the chiefs of Jodhpur at each accession were also raised, as seen below:

| Name of the Rāja | Rank at the time of accession | Date | Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Rāja Udai Singh | 1000/ 800 | 1583 | Jodhpur Khyāt, I, 207; Rajput Polity, 38. |
| 2. Rāja Suraj Singh | 2000/2000 | 1594 | Ibid. |
| 3. Rāja Gaj Singh | 3000/2000 | 1619 | Tuzuk, 277. |
| 4. Rāja Jaswant Singh | 4000/4000 | 1638 | Lāhorī, II, 97.[3] |

The map appended to this chapter shows the changes that occurred in the watan jāgīrs of the Rājāwat chiefs of Āmber. Rāja Mān Singh (1589 - 1614 A.D.) held Āmber and Khānder in the

---

1. In the Āʿīn-i Akbarī (II, 364, 511) Āsop, Pāli, Āhu, Dandla, Bhadrajun, Indrasti, Palpara (Pipar), Bilara, Bahila, Dunara, Khinwasar, Gundoj, Mahewa, etc. have been described as separate parganas, but in the Waqāʿ Sarkār Ranthambor wa Ajmīr (337, 374-5, 382-3, 469, 601) and Mārwār re-Pargan-re Vigat (I, 145-6, 154-5, 164, 168-9, 203-4), these parganas (as tappas) have been mentioned as belonging to the pargana of Jodhpur. Sunita Budhwar, 'Assignment of Jagirs in Rajputana', PIHC, Jadavpur, 1974.

2. Ibid.

3. Satish Chandra, Presidential Address, Rajasthan History Congress, Ajmer; G.D. Sharma, Rajput Polity, 38-40.

*watan jagir*.[1] In 1614, after Man Singh's death, his successor Bhao Singh was assigned *watan jagir* in Amber.[2] In 1620, a part of the revenues of *pargana* Amber was held by Nur Jahan. She seems to have assigned these revenues in *ijara* (revenue farm) to Mirza Raja Jai Singh.[3] In 1688, Ram Singh held the *parganas* of Amber and Chakeu in *watan jagir*.[4] Raja Bishan Singh is known to have held the *parganas* of Amber, Deoti, Baswa, Newai and Phagi in the *watan jagir*.[5] We can see from our map that the *watan jagir*, granted to the Rajawat chiefs, did not form a compact area, but consisted of scattered territories in different *sarkars* and *subas*.

A *watan jagir* was normally not resumed, but in case of specific fault or rebellion of a chief, the Mughal Emperor could resume the rights of *watan jagir*. In 1613, when Raja Jagman failed to perform satisfactory service in the Deccan, Jahangir confiscated Dhandhera - his *watan jagir* - and assigned it to

---

1. *Zakhirat-ul Khawanin*, I, p.106.

2. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, p.130.

3. Nur Jahan's *nishan* to Mirza Raja Jai Singh, RSA Bikaner; see also S.A.I. Tirmizi, *Edicts from the Mughal Harem*, 17-23.

4. *Vakil Report* (Persian), preserved in the RSA Bikaner.

5. *Ibid.*, A.D. 1693.

Mahabat Khan.[1] In 1650, when there was a dispute over the question of succession to the seat of Jaisalmer, Shah Jahan seems to have assigned Jaisalmer to Abdul Ghani Khan as jagir.[2] He was also appointed the faujdar of Jaisalmer.[3] In case of the revolt of a Rajput chief, his watan jagir could be resumed. In 1642, when Jagat Singh Pundir rebelled, Shah Jahan resumed his watan jagir which comprised the parganas of Mau, Nurpur and Taragarh and assigned these to Najabat Khan.[4] Sometimes, a part of the watan jagir could be seized. In April 1656, Shah Jahan resumed two parganas namely Swamra and Ramkot, which were in the watan jagir of Bahadur Chand of Kumaon, and assigned them to Rai Makrand, the faujdar and amin of Bareilly.[5] A part of the revenues of pargana Tosina, held by Muhkam Singh in watan jagir, was similarly resumed.[6] These instances go against the statement of the Rathor sardars of Jodhpur who are said to have made to the effect that during the rule of the imperial dynasty, no bumi or zamindar had been turned out of his watan even on the commission of specific fault.[7]

---

1. Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, p.118.
2. Waris, Padshahnama, p.304.
3. Ibid.
4. Lahori, Badshahnama, II, pp.262, 278.
5. Waris, p.333.
6. Waqai Sarkar Ranthambor wa Ajmer, pp.532-33.
7. Ibid., pp.80-83; cf. M. Athar Ali, The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, p.79.

III

Once the chiefs took up Mughal service, they were left free at least partly in the management of their own territories. When the chief obtained mansab, his original territory was usually treated as his watan jāgīr. Theoretically, this should have meant that the chief could have no more powers in his territory than would be possessed by an ordinary jāgīrdār, the only difference being that the holder of watan was not subject to transfer. Indeed, some officials such as qil'adārs, qāzīs, etc., were appointed by the Emperor within the watan of the Kachawāhas. In 1619, Nasrullah, the son of Fatehullah, who held the mansab of 500/400, was appointed qil'adār of Āmber;[1] and in 1680 Sidi Qāsim Khān.[2] A series of references to qāzīs (judges) appointed to Āmber by the Imperial Court can be traced. Muhammad Sālih was appointed qāzī of Āmber in 1680.[3] Subsequently, Azmatullah was appointed qāzī of Āmber in place of Saiyid Muhammad.[4] In 1689, Muhammad Fāzil was made qāzī of Āmber by Imperial order,[5] and in

---

1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.274.
2. Waqāi' Papers, n.200, RSA Bikaner.
3. Ibid., n.221, RSA Bikaner.
4. Khatūt-i Ahlkārān (Persian), R.N.24, RSA Bikaner.
5. Waqāi' Papers, R.N.148, RSA Bikaner.

1692 Muhammad Saeed was given the same office.[1] The *Waqai Sarkar Ranthambor wa Ajmer* shows that the *Waqainawis* of Ajmer could send his deputy (*gumashta*) to Amber.[2]

We find the *qazi* and *qiladar* similarly appointed. In 1615, Mulla Jamal was appointed *qazi* of Chitt-or.[3] In 1680, Udawat Bhaduriya was appointed the *qiladar* of Chittor.[4]

Sundry cases of appointments of *qazis* in other *watan jagirs* are also met with. In 1679, the *qazi* was appointed in Soipur which was the watan *jagir* of Manohar Das,[5] The same year a Mughal official called *mirqazi* in Jaisalmer.[6]

But by and large, except perhaps for the *qazi*, and *qiladar* (in case of a fort retained in imperial control), the imperial officials such as *faujdars*, *qanungos* and *chaudhuris* were not appointed in the *watan jagirs*. Marwar until Jaswant Singh's death had no *qanungo*.[7] When Jodhpur was annexed to the

---

1. *Vakil Report*, I, p.53, S.N.345, Old n.445.
2. *Waqai Sarkar Ranthambor wa Ajmer*, pp.231, 425.
3. *Vir Vinod*, II, p.312.
4. *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*, p.196.
5. *Waqai Ajmer*, pp.239-40.
6. *Ibid.*, p.193.
7. Waris, p.304.

_khālisa_ upon Jaswant Singh's death, a number of Mughal officials such as _faujdār_, _kotwāl_, _qil'adār_, _karōrī_ etc. were appointed;[1] and these appointments show that until then these offices either did not exist or were not filled by imperial appoint-ees.

The administration of the _watan-jāgīr_ was largely carried out by the officials of the chiefs; and an effort is made below to delineate the structure of administration found in the chief's territories in Rajasthan.

The _pradhān_ seems to have exercised an important position in the chiefs' governments. In the absence of the chief, the _pradhān_ used to control the administration. This office is found to have existed in Mewār,[2] Āmber,[3] Jodhpūr,[4] Bikāner[5] and Jaisalmer.[6] In some states, the _pradhān_ was designated _vakīl_[7] and _musāhib_.[8] The office was not necessarily hereditary.[9] But

---

1. _Waqāi' Ajmer_, pp.151, 157-8, 580; _Vīr Vinod_, II, p.828.
2. _Prashasti_ reproduced in _Vīr Vinod_, pp.321, 381; _Nainsi-re-Khyāt_, III, p.11.
3. _Vigat_, II, p.295.
4. _Ibid._, I, pp.86, 97, 102, 129, 137; II, pp.27, 421, 446; _Nainsi-re-Khyāt_, III, pp.117-18.
5. _Vīr Vinod_, p.487.
6. _Ibid._, p.1766.
7. In Khandela and Manoharpur, _paradhān_ was called _Vakīl_; Z_akhīrat ul-Khawānīn_, f.110; _Ma'asir-ul Umarā_, II, pp.173-4.
8. In Sirohi, he was called _musāhib_. See, _Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī_, I, (tr.), p.292; _Vīr Vinod_, II, pp.818, 161; _Waqāi' Ajmer_, p.34. Tod holds that at Udaipur he is called _bhānjgarh_, at Jodhpur _pradhān_, at Jaipur _musāhib_, at Kota _qil'adar_ and _diwān_ - a regent. Tod, I, p.216. In _Vansh Bhaskar_, written in the 19th century, he is called _sachiva_ and _amatiya_, pp.2228, 2299.
9. Tod, I, p.216; Nirmal Rai, _Maharaja Jaswant Singh ka Jivan-va-Samai_ (Hindi), p.117.

this office sometimes did continue generation after generation in the same family. For example, after the death of Bhamashah, Rana Amar Singh appointed his son, Jiva Shah, pradhan of Mewar. After Jiva Shah's death, his son Akhey Raj was elevated to this office.[1] It was theoretically a matter of choice for the chief to appoint or remove the pradhan. Raja Suraj Singh appointed Govind Das Bhati as pradhan of Jodhpur.[2] But at least in two cases we know that the Mughal Emperor insisted on having a particular person as p-radhan. When Jaswant Singh was a minor, Shah Jahan appointed Rathor Raj Singh Khinvawat as pradhan of Jodhpur.[3] After the death of Raj Singh in 1640, again the Emperor appointed Rathor Mahesh Das as the pradhan of Jodhpur.[4] However, in 1643, when Jaswant Singh had come of age, he dismissed Mahesh Das from the office of pradhan and appointed Rathor Gopal Das as his pradhan.[5] After the removal of Gopal Das in 1648, Prithvi Singh Govindaset Bhati was appointed to this office.[6]

---

1. Vir Vinod, II, p.251.
2. Akbarnama, III, p.820; Vigat, I, p.103.
3. Shahjahan Nama, II, p.43; Vir Vinod, II, p.822.
4. Jodhpur Khyat, III, pp.252-3; Vigat, I, p.125; Banka Das-re-Khyat, p.30.
5. Jodhpur Khyat, III, pp.252-3.
6. Vigat, II, pp.478-80.

In 1660, Prithvi Singh was dismissed by Jaswant Singh and Rai Bhagwant Das champawat was appointed the pradhan of Jodhpur.[1]

From the above description, it seems that normally only Rajputs were appointed to fill the office of pradhan in Marwar. In Sirohi chiefdom a Baghela Rajput, Ram Singh was the pradhan of Amar Singh Deora.[2] In Bundela territory too, Raja Bir Singh Deo Bundela assigned the office of pradhan to Kirpa Ram Gaur.[3] But in Mewar, the Kayasthas and Banias too were eligible for this office. Bhama Shah, pradhan of Rana Amar Singh, was an Oswal Bania.[4] Bhag Chand, pradhan of Rana Jagat Singh, was a Kayastha.[5] Dayal Das, pradhan of Rana Raj Singh, was again a Bania.[6] In Bikaner and Khandela too, one notices non-Rajput pradhans. Pradhan Karam Chand of Bikaner was a Bachawat Bania.[7] Raisal Darbari's pradhan Mathura Das Bengali was also a non-Rajput.[8]

---

1. Vigat, II, pp.478-80; G.D. Sharma, Rajput Polity, p.131.
2. Muhta Nainsi-re-Khyat, I, pp.172-73; Vir Vinod, p.1113.
3. Shaikh Jalal Hisari, Gwalior Nama, f.139b.
4. Vir Vinod, p.231.
5. Ibid., p.1032.
6. Waqai Ajmer, pp.428, 430-31, 434.
7. Vir Vinod, p.487.
8. Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, f.110; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.173-74.

In Karauli, Khande Rai and Nawal Singh, _pradhans_ of Gopal Pal Jadon were both Brahmans.[1]

The _pradhan_'s functions were civil as well as military in nature. Govind Das Bhati, _pradhan_ of Raja Sur Singh brought about changes in the revenue-administration of Jodhpur.[2] _Pradhan_ Muhta Karam Chand of Bikaner supervised the erection of the Bikaner fort in the absence of Rai Singh posted to the Deccan.[3] The _pradhan_ seems to have been in charge of the forts; and without his formal permission, it was not possible to visit the fort. In November 1632, Peter Mundy wanted to visit the fort of Akbarpur which was in the charge of Raja Mitrasen Tunwar; but Mundy dropped the idea because it might have taken much time to obtain permission of the Raja through his _pradhan_.[4] Maharana Jagat Singh of Mewar sent his _pradhan_ Bhag Chand on an expedition against Rawal Samarsi of Banswara.[5] Dayal Das Bania, _pradhan_ of Rana Raj Singh conducted a military campaign in Madalgarh.[6]

---

1. _Vir Vinod_, p.1500.
2. _Ibid._, pp.817-18.
3. _Ibid._, p.487.
4. Peter Mundy, II, p.167.
5. _Vir Vinod_, p.1032.
6. _Waqai Ajmer_, pp.428, 430-31, 434; _Ma'asir-i Alamgiri_, tr. p.126.

The pradhān's position became even more crucial during the absence of the chief. When Raisāl Darbārī was in Deccan, his sons rebelled against him. Mathura Dās Bengālī, the pradhān of Raisāl suppressed the rebellion.[1] On the other hand, in the absence of Rai Singh of Bikaner, his pradhān Karam Chand Bachawat allured Prince Dilip Singh to kill his father and usurp the throne.[2] In Jodhpur, the pradhān could grant pattas to the sardārs on behalf of the chiefs.[3]

Pradhān also used to conduct war-or-peace negotiations. When Mota Rāja Udai Singh defeated Dungarsī Bhātī, the chief of Bikampur signed a treaty through his pradhān.[4] Similarly, Rāja Mā-n Singh sent his pradhān to Rāo Chandra Sen of Jodhpur to acquire the fort of Pokaran.[5] In 1611 A.D., Raja Baso Pundir of Mau deputed his pradhān Purohit Vyās to collect an image from Rāna Amar Singh of Mewā-r.[6]

---

1. Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, f.170.
2. Vīr Vinod, p.487.
3. Letter from Jaswant Singh to Nainsi, Basta No.12/53, Jodhpur Records, RSA Bikaner; G.D. Sharma, Rajput Polity, p.131.
4. Vigat, II, pp.84-6.
5. Ibid., I, p.295; Nainsi-re-Khyā-t, III, pp.117-18.
6. Inscription cited and reproduced in Vīr Vinod, II, p.227.

In Kumaon, during Raja Lakhmi Chand's reign (1597-1621 A.D.), his brother Sakti Gosain, who was blind, managed the affairs of the State. He appointed three officials known as *sardars*, *faujdars* and *negis*. *Sardars* used to administer the districts. The *faujdars* were military commandants. *Negis* (neg - *dastur* or due) were subordinate officials of the army as well as of the civil administration.[1] During Trimal Chand's reign (1625-1638 A.D.) Narotam Joshi and Dinkar Galli were appointed *wazir* and *chaudhary* respectively. Bithal Gosain was assigned the office of *diwan*.[1a]

The next important office was that of the *diwan* or *desh-diwan*. He was appointed by the chiefs. To cite a specific instance, Raja Suraj Singh appointed Joshi Devi Dutt, the *diwan* of Jodhpur.[2] Sukhmat Subhawat Singhvi was *desh diwan* towards the end of Raja Gaj Singh's reign.[3] After his death, Pratap Chand Singhvi assumed the office of *desh diwan*.[4] In 1654, Mian Farasat was appointed *desh diwan* of Jodhpur.[5] Raghunath Bhati

---

1. *Kumaun Hills*, Edwin T. Atkinson, p.555.
1a. Ibid, p.558.
2. *Muhta Nainsi ri Khyat*, I, pp.103, 129.
3. *Rajput Polity*, p.132.
4. *Ibid.*, p.133.
5. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p.255.

was the next person elevated to this office.[1] In 1657, Muhta Nainsi was appointed the desh diwan.[2] After Muhta Nainsi's removal, in 1666, Raghunath Bhati was appointed to the post. He enjoyed the office until Jodhpur was included in khalisa in 1679-80.[3] Suraj Singh of Bikaner appointed diwan by Maheshwari Rathor Muhta Kalyan Keshodaset.[4] Thus Rajput as well as non-Rajputs enjoyed the office of desh-diwan.

In Mewar and Bundi, pradhan discharged the functions of diwan. Sometimes, the diwan was also assigned the functions of faujdar. In 1706, Ram Chand held the offices of diwan and faujdar of Amber simultaneously.[5] Sometimes, even the hakim of pargana used to enjoy the office of diwan.[6] The diwan managed essentially the finances of the desh.[7] Muhta Nainsi, the celebrate diwan of Jodhpur, kept a full record of jama and hasil of every village as his Vigat shows. Sometimes even the diwan was

---

1. Jodhpur Khyat, I, p.255.
2. Vigat, I, p.132.
3. Jodhpur Khyat, I, p.254.
4. Dayal Das re Khyat, p.159.
5. Mutafarriqa-i Ahalkaran, Reg. No.171, RSA Bikaner.
6. Vigat, I, p.21.
7. Jodhpur Khyat, I, p.250; Tod, III, p.1519.

sent on military expeditions. Muhta Nainsi was sent to capture the fort of Pokaran.[1] In 1624, when there was a tussle between Karan Singh of Bikaner and Amar Singh Nagori over the transfer of Nagor, the former, who was in Delhi, asked his _diwan_ Muhta Jaswant Singh to despatch an army against Amar Singh.[2] Further, when a certain _diwan_ of Budh Singh of Bundi took part in the Battle between Budh Singh and Bhim Singh of Kota, the _diwan_ was killed in battle.[3]

In Jodhpur, during Jaswant Singh's reign, a new post _tan diwan_ was created. The _tan-diwan_ used to help the _desh diwan_ in his manifold duties.[4] But the _tan diwan's_ main functions were to maintain accounts of the salary of _pattadars_.[5] In 1654, Pancholi Balbhadrot was the _tan diwan_ of Jodhpur, he seems to have misappropriated considerable sums; he was consequently dismissed.[6]

---

1. _Vigat_, II, pp.305-6.
2. _Dayal Das re Khyat_, p.162.
3. _Khafi Khan_, II, p.806.
4. _Rajput Polity_, p.109.
5. _Ibid._, p.131.
6. Basta No.59/4, _Jodhpur Records_, RSA Bikaner. Cited in _Rajput Polity_, p.159, f.n.88.

Similar to the Mughal Bakhshī, an official of the same designation used to be appointed in Jaipur and Jodhpur and Mewār.[1] His duties included maintenance of records of the army and muster of the troopers.[2] He was also the pay-master general of the state.[3] A certain Māya Rām was the bakhshī of Rāja Bishan Singh (1688-1700) of Amber.[4]

The faujdār was mainly a military official. Faujdārs found in the territories of the chiefs seem usually to have been appointed by the chiefs. Bhim Singh appointed Madhav Singh Jhāla the faujdār of Kota.[5] After Mādhav Singh's death, his son Madan Singh got the appointment. After Madan Singh's death, his son Himmat Singh became the faujdār of Kota.[6] In 1593, Gopāl Dās held the office of faujdār of Kota by the chief's appointment.[7] In 1594, Chando son of Isardās was appointed the faujdār of Badnor by its chief.[8] In 1617, Raja Gaj Singh

---

1. Vigat, II, p.482; Tod, I, pp.556-57.
2. See the documents Siyāh chehra Ghaura Naqdī, RSA Bikaner.
3. Tod, I, p.557.
4. ʿArzdāsht, pp.53, 91.
5. Vīr Vinod, p.1472.
6. Ibid., pp.1472-73.
7. Vigat, II, p.77.
8. Ibid.

appointed Bhati Gopal Das *faujdar* of Jalor.[1] *Faujdars* were paid by the chiefs usually through assignment of *jagir* out of the chief's own territories. In Kota, Madhav Singh, the *faujdar* was given village Nainta in his *jagir*.[2] In Amber, Gaj Singh Rajawat was the *faujdar* of the *desh* during Sawai Jai Singh's time.[3] In the Panna state of Chhatarsal Bundela, *faujdar* was appointed in every *pargana* to maintain the law and order.[4] It seems that usually this office was assigned to the Rajputs. Sometimes, this office was also held by the *diwan*.[5] In Bundi, the offices of *faujdari* and *qiladari* were amalgamated and the *qiladar* used to discharge the functions of *faujdar*.[6]

The *hakim* seems to be the name of a recognised *pargana* official in Jodhpur and Jaipur. Whenever the chief received *parganas* in *jagir* from the imperial court, a *hakim* was sent to take charge of the *pargana* on behalf of the chief. In 1615, when Raja Suraj Singh of Jodhpur received Phalodi in *jagir*,

---

1. *Vigat*, II, p.77.
2. *Vir Vinod*, pp.1472-73.
3. *Vakil Reports* (Rajasthani), RSA Bikaner.
4. *Maharaja Chatrasal Bundela*, pp.131-32.
5. *Mutafarriqa-i Ahalkaran*, Reg.No.171, RSA Bikaner.
6. Tod, III, p.1519.

Muhta Jaimal was sent as the *hakim* of Phalodi.[1] In 1620, when Raja Gaj Singh received Jalor in *jagir*, Bhati Gopal Das Asawat was appointed the *hakim* of Jalor.[2] In 1625, when Raja Gaj Singh received Nagor in *jagir*, a certain Ramo was appointed the *hakim* of Nagor.[3] In 1660, Bhairav Das Kitawat was the *hakim* of Badnor.[4] He used to keep the account of the revenues of the *parganas*.[5] Sometimes, non Rajputs were also granted the office of *hakim*, as when in 1615, Jaimal was appointed the *hakim* of Phalodi, he was a muhta or *bania*.[6] Besides revenue administration, he used to maintain law and order in the *pargana*. He seems, therefore, to have maintained troops under his command. A certain *hakim* maintained 70 foot soldiers.[7] Further, in village Kalyanpur, when a certain person discovered a potential copper mine, the finds were handed over to the *hakim* of *pargana* Awari which was in the *jagir* of Raja Ram Singh of Amber.[8] It seems that the *hakims*

---

1. *Vigat*, II, p.7.
2. *Ibid.*, p.107.
3. *Ibid.*, p.110.
4. *Ibid.*, p.128.
5. *Ibid.*, pp.7, 107, 110, 373.
6. *Ibid.*, p.7.
7. *Ibid.*, p.308.
8. *Arzdasht*, pp.25, 26.

were paid according to their status or size of jurisdiction. The hakims of Jodhpur and Merta were paid Rs.200/- per annum.[1] The hakims of Sojat, Phalodi, Siwana and Jaitaran were paid Rs.100/- per annum.[2]

The kotwal or chief of the Police of a town was found in most Rajput principalities.[3] His functions were to maintain law and order in the town. Sometimes, he was sent on expeditions. We find that Govind Das, kotwal, was sent on an expedition against the Buloch during the reign of Raja Gaj Singh of Marwar.[4] In Jodhpur, a shiqdar, performed the duties of the kotwal; the shiqdar was appointed by diwan on behalf of the chief.[5] During the reign of Maharaja Jaswant Singh, the office of shiqdar was held by Ragho Das, the son of Kumbh Karan Champawat.[6] During the reign of Raja Ajit Singh Shobawat Dayal discharged the functions of shiqdar (or low-ranking revenue official).[7] However, from the Marwar re Pargana ri Vigat, it seems that the offices

---

1. Vigat, II, pp.126, 128.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p.482.
4. Ibid., I, p.123.
5. Rajput Polity, p.135.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p.136.

of the kotwāl and shiqdār existed simultaneously in Jodhpur.[1] It seems that the shiqdārs were assigned pattas in lieu of their services. Under Rāja Jaswant Singh, Jogi Das Kushlawat, shiqdār was assigned pattas worth Rs.500 in the villages of Kudi and Bhathia.[2]

Usually, Mughal Emperors assigned the charge of the forts lying in the territories of the chieftains to these chiefs themselves. The chiefs in turn used to appoint qilādārs to control the forts.[3] Sometimes, it seems that even diwān could nominate some person to be qilādār. Muhta Nainsī assigned the charge of Pokaran fort to Manohar Dās Bidawat.[4] But this must have been with the chief's approval.

Thānedārs were appointed in the parganas by the chiefs. In 1615, Sikhro was appointed thānadār of Phalodī by Rāja Suraj Singh of Jodhpur;[5] in 1658 Govind Dās Gopāldāsot was the thānedār of Phalodi.[6] The office of hakīm did not dispense with the more

---

1. Vigat, II, pp.482-3.
2. Hukumat re-Behi, p.231.
3. [illegible] II, pp. 482-3.
4. Ibid., p.306.
5. Vigat, II, pp.7-8.
6. Ibid., pp.61-3; Vīr Vinod, pp.496-97.

lowly one of thanedar.[1] In 1615 Suraj Singh Rathor appointed Muhta Jaimal as hakim and Sikhra as thanedar of the pargana Phalodi.[2]

Potdar (from Pers. fotadar) was the pargana-level treasury official.[3] The word Potdar is a Hindi corruption of the Persian fotadar - the treasurer in the Mughal Official terminology. The revenue collectors used to deposit their collections (hasil) with him.[4] Some allowance was separately claimed from the peasants for the potdar; this being given the name potdari.[5]

Besides these officials, one comes across a number of other petty officials in Marwar, such as kamdar,[6] waqai navis,[7] patwari[8] and munshi.[9] Moreover, a number of daroqas were

---

1. Narain Singh Bhati, editor of Vigat holds that hakim was also called thanedar, I, p.16.
2. Vigat, II, pp.7-8.
3. Haqiqat Bahi, quoted by Jagat Vir Singh, 'Pargana administration in Marwar under Maharaja Jaswant Singh', IHC, Chandigarh, 1973.
4. Arsatta Pargana Chatsu.
5. Vigat, II, p.93.
6. Ibid., I, p.112; II, pp.63, 73, 93, 419, 463. He was the official of pattadars to collect the land-revenue from the threshing field. Rajput Polity, p.112.
7. Vigat, II, pp.419, 482.
8. Arzdasht, pp.10, 25.
9. Vigat, II, p.483; Khatut-i Ahlkaran, Jaipur Records, No.10, RSA Bikaner.

appointed to look after the various types of stables, household, mints, harem, stores of cloth etc.[1]

From the above description it would appear that the administrative apparatus of the Rajput chiefs was considerably influenced by the pattern of the Mughal administration.[2] Indeed, the _jagir_ system of the Mughal Empire was duplicated on a small scale in most of the larger Rajput principalities. This does not necessarily mean that the _patta_ originated in the _jagir_ system; what is argued is that in its actual working it tended to be closely similar to the Mughal institution. In Marwar, Mewar, Bikaner and Amber territories, we have abundant information about the assignments of the _pattas_ to the _sardars_ and others in return for maintenance of military contingents or in payment for other services. The chiefs not only assigned _pattas_ out of their _watan_,[3] but also out of their additional temporary _tankhwah jagirs_.[4] The _pattas_ in Marwar were of two kinds, viz.

---

1. _Vigat_, II, pp.482-83.
2. Irfan Habib, _The Agrarian System of Mughal India_, p.186.
3. Bernier, pp.39, 208; _Mughal Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign_, p.121; _V.V._, p.780.
4. _Hukumat re Bahi_, p.230.

chākrī-kā patta and gair chākrī ka patta.[1] These may correspond to the imperial tankhwāh and in'ām jāgīrs. In Mewār, Rāna Karan introduced the assignment of patta to his soldiers but Rana Amar Singh II abolished the transferable nature of the pattas. These pattas were known as the pakka patta or the kāla pattas (permanent assignment).[2] In Mewar, Rāna Amar Singh assigned the pargana of Begun worth 2,50,000 takās to Rawat Megh.[3] In Jaisalmer, there were two types of assignments:(a) bapī which was the permanent assignment, and (b) pattadār which was transferable assignment.[4]

In Kumāon, during the reign of Lakhmi Chand (1597-1621 A.D.), his brother Sakti Gosain systemized the land-revenue administration. He introduced the bisi system as the standard measure of crops, He also marked out the villages for the personal expenditure of the chiefs. These villages were named as but kara villages. Further, we know that the assignments were made to the soldiers in lieu of their services to the state and these assigned villages were known as bisi bandūk.[5] Sometimes, on showing valour, the Raja of Kumaon granted land to a person.

---

1. G.D. Sharma, Rajput Polity, pp 128, 156n.
2. Vir Vinod, p.780.
3. M.K., I, p.64. For the assignment of pattas by the Rānas of Mewar, see also M.K., I, p.69.
4. Vīr Vinod, p.1753.
5. Atkinson, p.555.

This grant was known as *rot*. In 1581, when Purshotam Gangoli showed bravery against the ruler of Dati, Raja Rudra Chand granted the land to him in *rot*,[1] (brave-deed). Besides assignments, to their *sardars*, servants and others, the chiefs made assignments to their wives, sisters and daughters. Maharaja Jaswant Singh assigned Dahipuro village in *pargana* Sojat, owrth Rs.2000/- to his wife Bhatiyani.[2] Another wife Davri was given the village Dhakri in *pargana* Sojat worth Rs.2000/-.[3] Rani Hadi held some villages in the *parganas* of Sojat and Jaitaran in *patta*.[4] He also granted *pattas* to his foster sisters (*dhai bahan*) village Savanio in *pargana* Sojat, worth Rs.600/-, being assigned to Sarupo, the foster sister of the Maharaja.[5] In 1657, Raja Karan Singh of Bikaner assigned the *bhog* (revenues) of village Tejasar to Sujande, wife of prince Satrusal.[6] He assigned the *bhog* of village Tejasar to his daughter Pranmati.[7] In Kumaon, the assignment made to the *Deori* (female apartment) was known as *pal*.[8]

---

1. B.D. Pandey, *Kumaon ka Itihas*, p.263.
2. *Hukumat re Bahi*, pp.232, 233.
3. *Ibid.*, p.232.
4. *Waqai-Ajmer*, pp.184-85.
5. *Hukumat re Bahi*, p.232.
6. *Bikaner re patta re gavan ri vigat*, ed. B.L. Bhadani, p.3.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Waqai Ajmer*, p.318.

There were also revenue-grants cirresponding to the Mughal madad-i ma'ash. Such lands were granted to the Charans (falconer) Puronits[1] and Vaidhyas (physicians) etc. These grants are known as udak and sasan. Raja Man Singh of Amber is said to have granted six villages to the Charans.[2] Rao Karan Singh of Bikaner made the grant of village Gersar to Charan Thakursi Cholawat.[3] These grants like madad-i ma'ash were treated as permanent assignments. Rarely did a chief resume such grants. When in 1586, Raja Udai Singh of Jodhpur revoked the sasan grants of Charans, the latter committed suicide. One of the Charans even complained to Emperor Akbar, but the Emperor did not respond.[4] Similarly, in Mewar when Rana Amar Singh II (1698-1710 A.D.) resumed the sasan grants from the Bhats, a number of Bhats committed suicide.[5] In Hukumat re Bahi of Marwar the villages granted to the Brahmans and Vaidhyas are named. The size of the grant in term of revenue varies from Rs.100 to Rs.2000.[6] In

---

1. Atkinson, p.566; Vir Vinod, p.779.
2. Vir Vinod, p.1285.
3. Bikaner re Patta re Gavan ri Vigat, p.69.
4. Vir Vinod, p.816.
5. Ibid., p.719.
6. Hukumat re Bahi, pp.233-34.

Bikaner, Rao Karan Singh assigned two villages to Gusain Rughnathji for the maintenance of the temple of Shri Ballabhji.[1] In Kumaon, these grants were called katardar or khanjardar. The Raja of Kumaon instead of signing on these grants used to draw a rude figure of a dagger.[2] In 1602, Raja Lakhmi Chand (1597-1621 A.D.) granted a village to Jageswar Temple.[3] In 1603, he made grant to the Bageswar temple. In 1616, another grant was made to Mahadeo Joshi.

Besides, the chiefs sometimes conferred even bhumi (zamindari) rights upon their sardars. In 1620, a certain sardar was granted bhumi rights in Jodhpur.[4] This again parallelled the Mughal emperors' practice of awarding zamindari rights in special cases.[5] In Jaisalmer, bhumias used to pay Rs.1 annas 4 and paise 7 or Rs.1½ per man to the state. They were also expected to render military service to the chief, but the chief in lieu of this used to pay.[6] The bhumias and thakurs constituted a class

---

1. Bikaner re Patta re Gavan ri Vigat, p.3.
2. Atkinson, p.566.
3. For more grants, see Atkinson, p.566.
4. See, B.L. Bhadani, 'The Allodial Proprietors - The Bhumias of Marwar', presented to IHC, Bombay, 1980; available in the Department of History, A.M.U.
5. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, pp.180-81. See also Satish Chandra, 'A Few Documents pertaining to zamindari from Thikana Records in the former Jaipur State', PIHC, Patiala, 1967, pp.263-64.
6. Vir Vinod, p.1753.

comparable to *zamīndārs* in the Mughal Empire. In Āmber, according to traditions, the Thākur used to pay a fixed *peshkash* to his overlord. For example, Thākur Puranmalot of Nimera used to pay Rs.10,000/- per annum to the Rājāwat chief of Āmber. Similarly, Thakur Nathawat of Chamau and Thākur Khangārot of Diggi used to give Rs.50,000 and 70,000 to the Rājāwat chief of Āmber.[1] The chief could create a thikana for his favourite *sardār*. In Jodhpur, Maharaja Jaswant Singh gave village Mayakar as *thikāna* to Rathor Askaran.[2] The chief also used to enjoy the privilege of sanctioning succession to one of the sons of the deceased thakur. In Bikāner in 1628, after the death of Thakur Manar Dasji of Bhukar-kera, Rāja Suraj Singh conferred succession upon his eldest son Karam Sen.[3] But in Jodhpur in one case, the chief set aside the law of primogeniture and granted succession to a person of his choice. In 1616, after the death of Govind Dās Bhātī of Lewra, Rāja Suraj Singh granted succession to his youngest son Prithvi Rāj.[4] However, from Mewār, it seems that it was considered necessary on the part of a *thikānedār* to send

---

1. *Vīr Vinod*, pp.1338-39.
2. G.D. Sharma, *Rajput Polity*, p.124.
3. *Dayāl Dās re Khyāt*, p.159.
4. *M.K.*, II, pp.156-57; *Rajput Polity*, p.123.

*dastur* to every succeeding chief. It was treated as acceptance of the suzerainty.[1]

It seems that some kind of the concept of *watan* or permanent assignment began to emerge in the Rajput kinglets. Muhta Nainsi has used the word *utan* which is apparently corrupt form of *watan*. In case of certain places, he says they were the *utan* of this or that person. For instance, he says that Deveras held 52 villages of *pargana* Udaipur in their *utan*,[2] or that Chyar Chapauri of *pargana* Udaipur was the *utan* of Rathors.[3] There is an interesting piece of information about the creation of *watan* in Jaisalmer, Rawal Kalyan Das (1614-1627 A.D.) conferred Lathi village as *utan* upon a certain Jaswant Singh.[4] This shows some kind of permanent rights of *watan* holders. But owing to the paucity of evidence it is not possible to understand the full significance of such assignments.

The Rajput chiefs had their own systems of estimation of the revenue-paying capacities of various localities so as to

---

1. *Vir Vinod*, p.755.
2. *M.K.*, I, p.36.
3. *Ibid.*,
4. *Ibid.*, II, p.79.

enable patta-assignments to be made properly. These were the equivalents of jamadami in the Empire. In Marwar the estimates were called rekh, and in Amber tan.

Recent study has established that the rekh and tan terms are equivalent to the Mughal term jamadami.[1] These estimates were built on a certain amount of information collected about actual revenue realization. The waqai navis of Ajmer reported at the time of the annexation of Jodhpur, that the chiefs of Jodhpur maintained the revenue-records in Hindi.[2] But our best evidence for this is Muhta Nainsi's Marwar-re-Pargana-re-Vigat in which the detailed information about the revenues of Marwar is set out village by village. From Amber come the Arsattas, the well-known detailed documents setting out revenue of Rajawat chiefs of Amber (later Jaipur).[3] These records present a full information about the land-revenue and cesses which were collected from the peasants.

---

1. See, Sunita Budhwar, 'The Mughal Administration of the suba of Ajmer', unpublished thesis, Department of History, A.M.U., 1977; S.P. Gupta, 'The jagir system during the evolution of Jaipur State (c.1650-1750), PIHC, 1978, Aligarh.

2. Waqai Ajmer, p.163.

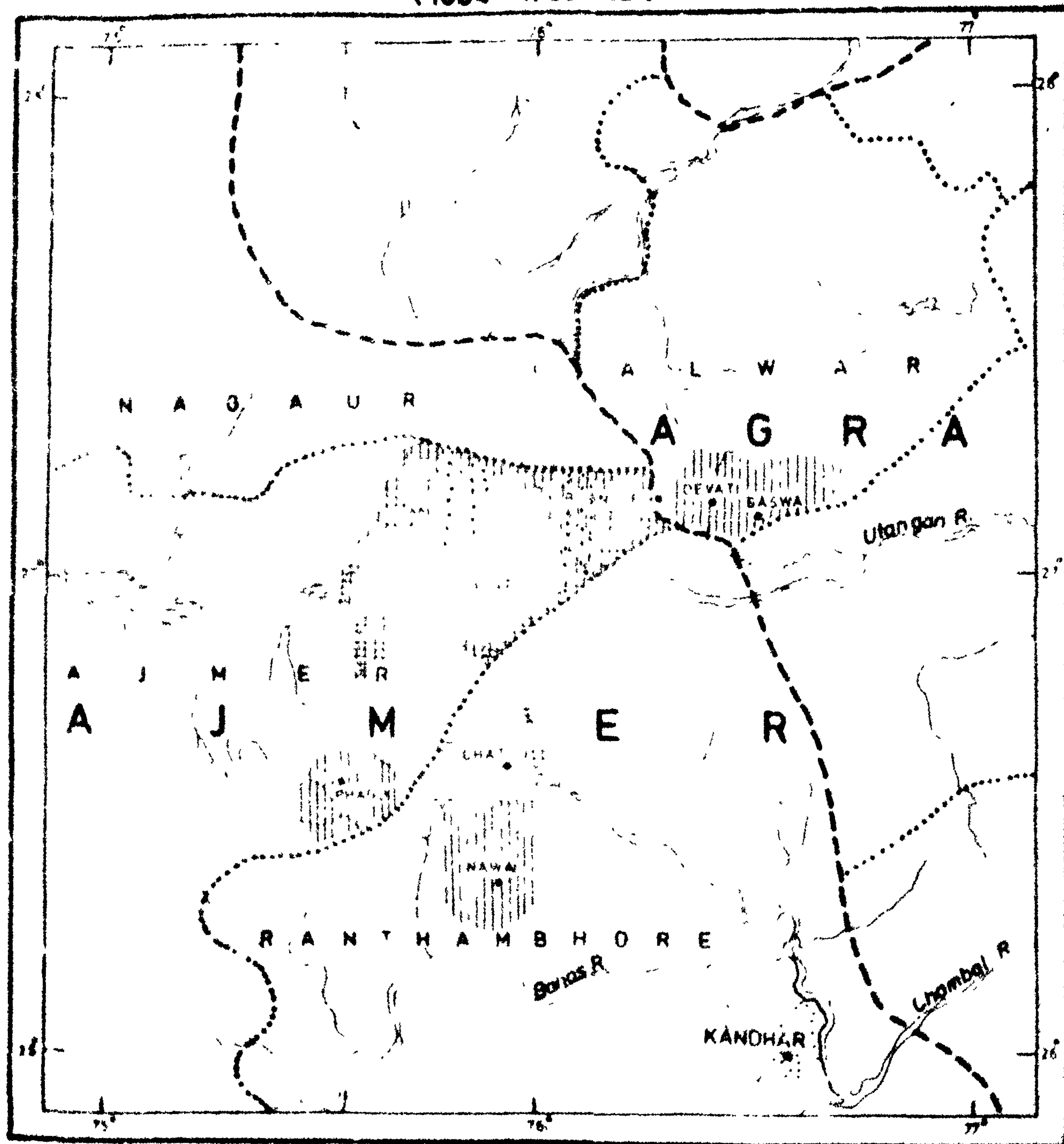
3. Arsattas of different parganas, SAR, Bikaner.

As for the land-revenue demand, it seems that it varies from region to region. In some parts of Mārwār, the land-revenue was taken at the rate of 1/3 of produce,[1] while in Āmber and Jaisalmer, it was 1/2[2] and 1/8 respectively. These variations were partly dependent on the fertility of the soil or the kind of crops grown, partly on customary institutions. By and large, it would seem that the land-revenue in Rājput States was levied on the same principles as in the Mughal Empire. In Jaisalmer it might have been comparatively moderate, but otherwise it is as harsh as in the Mughal Empire. One interesting feature was the concessions given to certain castes such as Rājputs, Brahmans, etc., who constituted upper village strata in most areas.[3]

---

1. Mārwār-re-Pargana-re-Vigat, I, 96-97; 326.
2. Arsattas of parganas Āmber, Narāina and Bhātri.
3. Āīn-i Akbarī, I, 505; Tod, II, 226.
   According to Shyāmal Dās, in some regions of Jaisalmer state, 1/11 of the land-revenue was alienated from the peasants. Vīr Vinod, pp.1752-54; Sunita Budhwar, The Mughal Administration of the suba of Ajmer (unpublished thesis, Department of History, Aligarh).

## WAṬAN JĀGĪRS OF RĀJAWAT CHIEFS OF AMBER
## (1604 - 1700 A.D)




A. Aziz

Waṭan Jāgirs 1614

Waṭan Jāgirs 1688

Waṭan Jāgirs 1693

— — — Ṣuba Boundary

. . . . . . . Sarkār Boundary

## Chapter V

## MUGHAL PARAMOUNTCY AND CONTROL OVER SUCCESSION

The question of control of succession among 'Native Princes' by the Paramount Power was a matter that attracted much legalistic debate during British rule, notably in relation to the proclamation of the Doctrine of Lapse. The Mughals do not seem to have developed a well-thought out theory, but their practice seems to have been clear enough. The Emperors are known to have frequently intervened to regulate succession to the chiefdoms of the Rājput ruling clans in their service.[1] Such interventions by the Mughal rulers were generally accepted by the chiefs and their sardārs without much resentment or protest. It was only in the case of Aurangzeb's action in setting aside the claim to succession of the posthumously-born sons of Jaswant Singh in favour of Indra Singh that the exercise of this prerogative by the king led to a rebellion. A case,

---

1. The Emperors used to mark the tīka on the forehead of every succeeding chief. In case a chief was exempted from coming to the Court for this ceremony, some nobles of the Emperor were sent to the succeeding chief's headquarters for performing the ritual. Sometime after coming to the throne, Aurangzeb assigned the task of applying the tīka on the foreheads of the succeeding chiefs to his wazīr Asad Khān. In May 1679, he abolished this ritual as it was considered violation of the spirit of Sharī'at. But this did not at all detract from his power to regulate succession among the Rajput clans in his service. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp.106, 289; Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri, pp.175-76. Sri Ram Sharma's statement based on 'Ma'asir-i Alamgiri that Shāh Jahān delegated the power of applying the tīka to his wazīr is not borne out from the perusal of Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri (The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors, pp.82, 108).

however, is made out by Athar Ali that even in this case, "Aurangzeb was not stepping beyond custom and precedent in overlooking Ajît's claim and selecting Indra Singh".[1] It is implied in this statement that the resentment of Râthor sardārs over what they might have regarded as the violation of custom by Aurangzeb was not an important factor contributing to their rebellion. On the other hand, in a recent study, G.D. Sharma has contended that Indra Singh's succession was in violation of the custom. He says, "the Râthors' apprehension was that the acceptance of Indra Singh as the ruler of Jodhpur would establish a precedent by which a direct descendant of a Rāja could be divested (of succession) by the Mughal Emperor".[2] But before one accepts any one of these views as finally established, it would be best to ask one important question: Was there a generally accepted prerogative of the Mughal Emperor, applicable to all Ràjput clans or chiefdoms, so that one could speak of a uniform practice or precedent in Mughal India.

In the ensuing discussion evidence of the practice followed by the Mughal emperors in each one of the Rājput clans

1. M. Athar Ali, 'Causes of the Rathor Rebellion of 1679', PIHC, Delhi, 1961, p.140.

2. G.D. Sharma, 'Marwar War as Depicted in Rajasthani Sources (1678-79 A.D.)', Journal of Indian History, Vol. 43, No.1, 1975, p.54.

is analysed separately. This discussion is arranged here in a chronological order. An attempt is also made to ascertain whether the forms in which the Mughal rulers intervened in the affairs of individual clans conformed to the customs observed in the same clans before their joining the service of the Tîmurid rulers.

The earliest known case of imperial intervention in a Rājput succession dates back to 1576 A.D. when Akbar debarred Dudā, the eldest son of Surjan, the Hārā chief of Bundī, on the charge that he had collaborated with Rānā Pratāp.[1] It is significant that this did not evoke protest or objection from any section of the Hārā _sardārs_, and this might be construed as indicating their tacit acceptance of the Emperor's right to intervene in such matters. It would appear that among the Haras the custom provided for the overlord's right to exclude a person from succession or to depose a chief and grant succession to any other member of the ruling family. In 1554, for instance, Sulṭān, the chief of Bundī, had been deposed and his nephew, Surjan was enthroned by his overlord Rānā Udai Singh of Mēwār.[2]

---

1. _Muhta Nainsī-rē-Khyāt_, I, p.112; Surya Mal Misr, _Vamsh Bhaskar_, ed. by R. Asopa, pub. Bafna Book Depot, Jaipur, Vol. V, pp.2324-2348.

2. _Muhta Nainsī-rē-Khyāt_, I, pp.109-10; _Vīr Vinod_, I, p.108.

From the case cited above it seems that after Surjan Hārā joined Akbar's service in 1569 the customary privileges of the overlord previously enjoyed by the ruler of Mēwār were transferred to the Mughal Emperor. There is ample evidence indicating a tendency on the part of the Mughals to occasionally exercise these privileges to regulate the affairs of the Hārā ruling family. In 1683, Aurangzeb decided to instal at Kota, the deceased chief's uncle Kishor Singh, setting aside the claim of his nephew Pem Singh who was favoured by the sardārs.[1] Similar cases of intervention by the Mughal rulers in the affairs of the Hārās during the early 18th century are also on record. Bahādur Shāh excluded the sons of Rām Singh from succession as punishment for the chief's action in opposing him in the war of succession.[2] Farrukhsiyar went a step further when in 1712, he dispossessed the ruling chief Budh Singh and placed on the gaddī Bhīm Singh, son of Rām Singh.[3] These cases go to show that the customary powers of an overlord to regulate succession within the family of Hārā chiefs were exercised by the Mughal Court down to the first quarter of the 18th century without evoking a hostile response from any section of the Hārās.

---

1. Nuskha-i Dilkusha, MS. British Museum, No.R.O.271, ff.91a & b; Ma'asir-ul Umarā, III, p.510; Vīr Vinod, II, 1411.
2. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, p.324; Vīr Vinod, II, pp.1413-1416.
3. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, 324; Vīr Vinod, II, pp.1413-1416.

The Tīmurid rulers also exercised powers to partition or re-unite the existing chieftainships within Hārā ruling family. According to Lāhorī in 1631, after the death of Rāo Ratan, Shāh Jahān assigned Rāo Ratan's <u>waṭan</u> Bundī and Kankar to his grandson Shatrusāl and Kota and Falaita to his younger son Mādho Singh.[1] But in 1707, after the death of Rām Singh, Bahādur Shāh re-united the two principalities by assigning Kota to Budh Singh, a the chief of Bundī.[2] In the early history of Mēwār there existed a precedent for this measure. In 1527, Rānā Ratan Singh had divided the territory of Dungarpur between two brothers, Jagmāl and Prithvī Rāj.[3] The Hara <u>sardārs</u> seem to have acquiesced in the decisions of the Mughal rulers to split and then re-unite their principality. One may guess that on account of their long association with Mēwār as a subordinate clan, the Hārās were influenced by the custom prevailing in that kingdom.

There are on record two cases of intervention by the Mughal rulers to regulate succession in the Bhāṭī ruling clan of Jaisalmer. In 1616 A.D. Rawal Bhim died without leaving

---

1. 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhorī, <u>Bādshāh Nāma</u>, I, p.401; <u>Bankē Dās-rē-Khyāt</u>, p.149; <u>Vams Bhaskar</u>, N, pp.2530-44.

2. <u>Ma'āsir-ul Umarā</u>, II, p.324.

3. <u>Muhta Nainsī-rē-Khyāt</u>, I, pp.70-73; <u>Vīr Vinod</u>, I, pp.1005-7.

behind any issue. Jahāngīr acting at his own initiative tried to end uncertainty within the clan by granting the tīka to Bhim's younger brother Kalyān.[1] The other case is of Shāh Jahān's intervention after Rāwal Manohar's death in 1649, to exclude from the gaddi Rām Chandra, a distant relative of the deceased ruler who was sought to be installed as chief by the sardārs.[2] On this occasion, Shāh Jahān granted the tīka to Rāwal Manohar's nephew Sabal Singh,[3] which was eventually accepted by Bhātī sardārs without any protest. This was an interesting precedent as it suggests that the Mughal Court was anxious that the succession should remain confined to the immediate circle of the chief's kinsmen.

On the death of famous Kachawaha chief, Mān Singh in 1614 Jahāngīr granted the tīka to his surviving son Bhāo Singh. From Jahāngīr's remarks in the Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī regarding Bhāo Singh's elevation to the gaddi of Amber, one gets the impression that in his own estimate, he considered his decision as amounting to a partial violation of the custom regulating succession in the Kachawaha clan.[4] It seems that he was told by those supporting

---

1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp.159-60; Muhta Nainsī-re-Khyāt, II, pp.98-102.
2. Muhta Nainsī-re-Khyāt, II, p.103; Vīr Vinod, p.1764.
3. Amal-i Salih, II, p.117; Muhta Nainsī-re-Khyāt, II, p.93. Vīr Vinod, II, p.1764.
4. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.130. In text Mahā Singh has wrongly been described as the father of Jagat Singh. But in Rogers' translation of Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, this mistake has been corrected. (Pub. Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Delhi, 1968, I, 266).

the claim of Mahā Singh, son of Mān Singh's deceased eldest son Jagat Singh that by their custom, succession should strictly adhere to the principle of primogeniture, the right of the eldest son when dead passing on to his son. But the fact remains that they eventually acquiesced in Jahāngīr's decision without any protest. It goes to suggest that Jahāngīr's decision on this occasion was within the customary framework and the aggrieved party was not in a position to make an emotional issue out of it. As a matter of fact there did exist a precedent in the early history of the Kachawaha clan that could be cited in support of Jahāngīr's decision.[1]

Regarding the Kachawahas, there is also a case in which the Mughal Emperor tried to replace a reigning chief by a person of his own choice. But this move was firmly resisted by clan as a whole and finally the king was forced to restore status quo. In 1707, Bahadur Shah removed Sawai Jai Singh from the qaddi and installed his younger brother Bijay Singh, since Jai Singh had opposed him in the war of succession; when Sawai Jai Singh resisted the move, his watan Amber was taken in the khālisa.[2] But Sawai Jai Singh continued his struggle till his restoration

1. Inayat Ali Zaidi, 'Customs and Practices Regulating Succession among Rajput Ruling Clans in the Mughal Service', PIHC, Hyderabadm, 1968.

2. Tazkirat-us Salatin Chaghta, p.24; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.81-82; Satish Chandra, Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, pp.30-31.

to the _qaddi_ of Amber in 1712.[1] This suggests that the Rājput clans submitted to the decision of the Emperor in such matters only when he was confining himself to custom. But whenever the king tried to impose any decision which was totally violative of the customary law they did not hesitate in resisting.

In the Baghela clan, it is interesting to note that in 1592 when Balbhadr, chief of Bhatta died, Akbar did not approve the succession of the deceased's son Bikramajīt who was a minor.[2] Even on the insistence of the _sardārs_ of Bhatta, Akbar refused to grant the succession to Bikramajīt.[3] After nine years, in 1601, Akbar installed Duryodhan, a younger son of Balbhadr on the _qaddī_ of Bhatta.[4]

In the Bundela clan, in 1607, when Rām Chandra revolted, Jahāngīr dislodged him from the _qaddī_ of Orcha and conferred the succession upon Rām Chandra's younger brother Bīr Singh Deo who was a favourite of Jahāngīr.[5] In 1628, when Jujhār Singh, son of Bir Singh rebelled against Shāh Jahān, the latter dispossessed

---

1. _Tazkirat-us Salātīn Chaghta_, pp.24, 26, 34, 45, 272, 289, 327, 350; _Ma'āsir-ul Umarā_, II, pp.81-82.

2. _Akbarnāma_, III, pp.641, 648.

3. _Ibid._

4. _Ibid._, p.788; _Muhta Nainsi-ra-Khyāt_, p.133; _Ma'āsir-ul Umarā_, II, pp.136-38.

5. _Ma'āsir-ul Umarā_, II, pp.212-13.

the former from the *qadgi* and restored it to the family of Rām Chandra. Rām Chandra's grand son Debi Singh was elevated to the throne of Orcha.[1]

Further, in 1618, when Suraj Mal Pundir of Mau rebelled, Jahāngīr dethroned him; his younger brother Jagat Singh was elevated to the *qaddi*.[2] In 1623, when Jagat Singh sided with Prince Shāh Jahān, Jahāngīr deposed him from the throne of Mau and installed his younger brother Mādho Singh on the *qaddi*. But after Jagat Singh's submission to Jahāngīr, the *qaddi* of Mau was restored to him.[3]

In the Bhaduriya clan son from a concubine was considered to be illegitimate and therefore he was not allowed to succeed. In 1643, when Kishan Singh died, he left only a son born from his concubine. Shāh Jahān set aside his claim and conferred the tika on Kishan Singh's nephew Badan Singh.[4]

The solitary known case of intervention by the Mughal Emperor to regulate succession in Sisodia ruling clan of Mewar

---

1. *Ma'āsir-ul Umarā*, II, pp.212-13.
2. *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, p.264.
3. *Ibid.*, II, p.289.
4. Lāhori, *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p.348.

deserves special notice though it is of dubious authenticity. If true, it points to a tendency on the part of the Mughals to uphold established custom. On the death of Rāna Rāj Singh in 1680, the sardars placed on the gaddi his younger son Bhim Singh. The eldest son Jai Singh felt aggrieved and approached Aurangzeb to set aside Bhim Singh's succession. Aurangzeb intervened to remove Bhim Singh. The title of Rana and the tīka of Udaipur was granted by the king to Jai Singh.[1]

A survey of the cases of Mughals' intervention to regulate succession among the Rāthor ruling clans of Jodhpur, Bikaner and Kishangarh go to show that by and large they tried to adhere to the principle of directk succession from father to son. In case of a chief dying without leaving behind a son the succession of brother[2] or nephew[3] was normally recognised; there was no Doctrine of Lapse in case of failure of direct heirs.

---

1. Futūhāt-i 'Ālamgīrī, MS. BM. 23884, Rotograph available in the Department of History, Aligarh, ff.80a and 81a.
   It seems doubtful if this is a true version of events. Rāj Singh died when in rebellion, and Jai Singh succeeded him well before the peace made by him with Aurangzeb.

2. In 1613, after the death of Rao Dalpat of Bikaner, Jahāngīr granted the succession to his younger brother Suraj Singh. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.126; Dayāl Dās re Khyāt, ed. by J.S. Khichi and D. Sharma, 1947, Bikaner, pp.25-26; Vīr Vinod, p.491. In Kishangarh, after the death of Shahs Mal in 1628, his brother Jagmal succeeded him. In 1629, after Jagmal's death, his brothor Hari Singh succeeded him. Vīr Vinod, II, p.527.

3. In 1643, when Hari Singh of Kishangarh died issueless, Shāh Jahān sanctioned the succession to the deceased's nephew Rup Singh. Lahori, Pādshāh Nāma, p.373; Vīr Vinod, II, p.527.

However, an exceptional situation, the Mughal rulers did not hesitate to interfere in the customary law of the clan and used their discretion to settle the question of succession. For instance, in 1581, after the death of the rebel Rāo Chandra Sen of Jodhpur, there was dispute over succession among the sons of the deceased chief.[1] Akbar superseded the claims of direct heirs and sanctioned the tīka to a person of his own choice. The dead chief's brother Udai Singh who was already in Akbar's service was elevated to the gaddi of Jodhpur.[2]

Similarly, the right to depose a reigning chief and replace him on the gaddi by a favourite chosen from amongst person eligible for succession was occasionally exercised. For instance, when Rāja Jaswant Singh sided with Dārā Shukoh in the war of succession, Aurangzeb at one stage, disposed the Rāja from 'rājgī' and 'marzbānī' of Jodhpur and bestowed them upon his nephew Rāo Rai Singh of Nāgor.[3] But after his accession, the new Emperor revoked his earlier order and Jaswant Singh continued as the Rāja of Jodhpur.[4] In January 1667, Aurangzeb deposed

1. Vīr Vinod, pp.814-15.
2. Ibid.
3. Muḥammad Kāẓim, 'Ālamgīrnāma, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1866, p.288.
4. Abūl Fazl Māmurī, Tārīkh-i Aurangzeb, MS. B.M. R.O. No.1671, f.108a.

Rao Karan of Bikaner who had rebelled and enthroned his son Anup Singh.[1] This right exercised by Aurangzeb was supported by one clear precedent in the early history of Sisodia chief's relations with the clans subordinate to him.[2]

Among the Rāthors of Mārwar, there was the peculiar custom of giving precedence to the son of the favourite Rani over other sons including the eldest one. This custom was respected by the Mughals. In 1594, after Udai Singh's death, his you-nger son Sur Singh being a son of the favourite wife of the dead ruler, was awarded the gaddi.[3] On the same ground, in 1638, after Gaj Singh's dea-th, Shāh Jahān sanctioned the succession of his eleven-year old son Jaswant Singh and the claims of his elder brother Amar Singh were overlooked.[4] But apparently the Mughals regarded this practice a deviation from the general custom and in this respect they were prepared to make an exception only in the case of Mārwār chiefs. When a similar custom was sought to be invoked in Bikaner, the move was summarily scotched

---

1. Aurangzeb's farmān to Anup Singh, dated January 11, 1667, RSA, Bikaner; Nuskha-i Dilkusha, MS. 33a & b.

2. Op. cit.

3. Mārwār-re-Pargana-re-Vāga-t, ed. Narain Singh Bhati, I, p.93; Banke Das-re Khyat, p.25; Vir Vinod, II, p.817.

4. Lāhorī, Pādshāhnāma, II, pp.97-98; Mārwar-re-Pargana-re-Vigat, I, p.123; Vir Vinod, p.822. To pacify Amar Singh, Shah Jahan conferred on him the title of Rao and some mahals in the pargana of Nāgor as watan-jāgīr.

by Jahāngīr. In 1611, when Ray Rai Singh tried to enthrone his younger son on the plea that the latter was from his favourite wife, Jahāngīr did not confirm the succession and awarded the tika to the eldest son, Dalpat.[1]

From a closer examination of the positions taken by Aurangzeb after Jaswant Singh's death in 1678 over the question of succession to the gaddi of Jodhpur it emerges that while all the time trying to ensure Indra Singh's continuation as the new chief,[2] he was anxious to give an impression of adhering to the existing custom that by and large conformed to the principle of primogeniture. It is, for example, borne out by Aurangzeb's announcement, in July 1679, that, when Jaswant Singh's sons, (who had already been brought to Delhi by this time)[3] "would come of age, mansab and rāj would be granted (to them)".[4] The fact that Aurangzeb was obliged to make such a statement in spite of having already granted the tīka to Indra Singh is very significant. The implication of this announcement was that after the sons of the deceased Rāja had come of age, one of them would

---

1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.106; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.153-54.
2. Ma'āsir-i Ālamgīrī, pp.175-76.
3. Ibid., p.177.
4. Ibid.

replace (or at least succeed) Indra Singh on the *qaddi* of Jodhpur. But on the other hand, it is obvious that from the very beginning Aurangzeb was anxious to ensure Indra Singh's succession; and after having granted the *tīka* to him on 26 May 1679,[1] he was not prepared to revoke it. The manner in which he hastened to announce the conferment of the *tīka* on Inder Singh even after getting the news of the birth of Jaswant Singh's sons[2] indicates his real anxiety in the matter. Similarly, after these children were brought to his presence and their being legitimate sons of the deceased Rāja was fully established, Aurangzeb apparently tried to take shelter behind the plea that succession of an infant was not permissible. In this context, it is interesting to note that while indicating the age limit for succession, he chose to remain ambiguous. He did not clearly say that minors were excluded from succession as this would have gone against the precedent set by his predecessor by giving *tīka* to Jaswant Singh at the age of eleven.[3] Apparently, the Rathor *sardārs* were not impressed by the fine distinction that Aurangzeb tried to draw between a minor and an infant and were convinced that by installing Indra Singh on the *qaddi* after rejecting the claims of the sons of the Rāja, the king was committing a flagrant

1. *Ma'āsir-i Ālamgīrī*, pp.175-76.
2. *Ibid*., pp.172-73.
3. *Op. cit.*

violation of their custom. After the Rāthor *sardārs* escaped from Delhi with Ajit, the surviving infant,[1] Aurangzeb resorted to a plea that the sole surviving son of the Rāja was with him and the child named by the rebelling Rathors as Ajit Singh was only a pretender.[2] Thus, it would appear that down to 1688, when Muhammadi Rāj died,[3] Aurangzeb continued to stick to the fiction that he would place the surviving son of the deceased Raja on the *gaddi* at an appropriate time. In this, Aurangzeb exposed himself to a contradictory position. After having already recognised Indra Singh as the lawful ruler of Jodhpur, how could he remove him from that position at a later date without violating the custom. There did not exist any precedent justifying the removal of a chief without establishing a charge of rebellion or disloyalty against him. The Rathor *sardārs* could not have missed this obvious contradiction in Aurangzeb's position. Apparently, they desisted from raising this po-int in their negotiations with the royal officers as it could have involved an admission that Indra Singh was already installed on the *gaddi* which they were not prepared to concede at any cost. It is, therefore, quite understandable that, on the one hand,

1. *Ma'āsir-i 'Ālamgiri*, pp.178-79.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, p.318; *Futūhāt-i 'Ālamgiri*, f.144b.

they firmly rejected Aurangzeb's assurances as of no consequence and on the other hand, continued to argue their contention that in the presence of Jaswant Singh's son no one else could succeed to his gaddi.[1]

From this discussion, it emerges that while using their prerogative of conferring the tīka, the Mughal rulers, by and large adhered to the principle of primogeniture and the customs of the clans.[2] This practice was generally accepted by the Rājput chiefs. They would ordinarily submit to a decision of the king, setting aside a candidate favoured by them provided his choice did not violate the framework of the customs of the respective clans. In this respect, problems arose only when the limits set by custom to the overlord's discretion were sought to be deliberately ignored by the Emperor. In the case of the Rathors of Jodhpur in 1679, Aurangzeb did take a position which though ostensibly consistent with the general principle underlining the customary law in effect violated the form in which it was applied to that particular clan. In the eyes of Rathor sardārs apparently, there was no justification for excluding a person

1. According to the Rāthor sardārs of Jodhpur, "the zamīndārī of the country of Mārwār was the property of Rāja Jaswant Singh and after his death by the law of inheritance the zamīndārī of the country devolves on his sons. In the presence of the sons of the late Jaswant Singh, Indra Singh had no right to succeed". Waqāi Sarkār Ranthambor wa Ajmer, transcribed copy, Department of History, Aligarh, pp.245-46.

2. Hasan, Nurul, 'Zamindars under the Mughals', Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History, p.20 (pub. University of Wisconsin, 1969).

from succession on the plea that he had not come of age. They were convinced that Aurangzeb was using this plea to transfer chiefship to a different branch of the ruling family by circumventing the custom, and it was this that provoked them into defiance.

The reaction of the Rathor sardars, however, entirely based on moral indignation against changing the line of succession. Indar Singh was supported by sardārs who had been exiled from Jodhpur to Nāgor where they had accompanied his grand father. They were now coming back triumphant to claim a dominant position in the state. Their return would naturally eclipse, and very probably, destroy those who had served Jaswant Singh and had so far ruled the roost in Marwar. Inevitably they were not, at any cost, prepared to accept Indar Singh as the chief. So long as Jaswant Singh's queens had not given birth to the infants, it could not be known whether they were to be sons or daughters; so Jaswant Singh's sardārs had willy nilly to be passive. At that time they were prepared to go to the farthest in offering submission simply in order to avoid Indar Singh. Thus Rānī Hādī declared to prefer Jodhpur's inclusion into the khālisa territory instead of accepting Indar Singh as the chief of Jodhpur.[1] But

---

1. Waqāi Sarkār Ranthambor wa Ajmer, pp.277-78.

the birth of the sons changed the situation entirely.[1]

---

1. In a recent study, Hallissey (The Rajput Rebellion Against Aurangzeb, pp.92-3) offers a different interpretation. He says that the Rāthor sardārs were annoyed with Jaswant Singh who, with the help of the Mughals, adopted a policy of centralization which ultimately hampered the clan-authority in Jodhpur state. Consequently, after Jaswant Singh's death, his sardārs looked forward to reassert their clan-authority. He, further, holds that though Indar Singh's succession on the seat of Jodhpur was legitimate, the Rathor sardārs refused to accept him as their chief with the idea that he, being the candidate of Aurangzeb, would continue the policy of Jaswant Singh to submerge their clan-authority. This led the sardars to oppose Indar Singh in favour of Ajit's succession.

## Chapter VI

## THE RĀJPUT MARRIAGES OF THE IMPERIAL HOUSE

One important aspect of the relationships between the Tīmurid rulers and the Rājput nobles was a tendency on the part of the Mughal rulers and princes to take into marriage the daughters and nieces of the Rājput chiefs in their service. These so-called matrimonial alliances came into vogue simultaneously with the entry of the Rājput chiefs into the Mughal service in considerable strength under Akbar. As is well known, the first chief to enter the Mughal service and offer his daughter in marriage to Akbar was the Kachawaha chief, Bhār Mal.[1] The other Rājput chiefs who followed in his footsteps, were the Rāthor chiefs of Jodhpur,[2] Bikaner[3] and

---

1. Tārīkh-i 'Alfī, MS. f.145; Akbarnāma, II, pp.157-58; Muntakhāb-ut Tawārīkh, p.50; Tabaqāt-i Akbarī, p.256; Zubdat-ut Tawārīkh, MS. f.148a; Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.7; Iqbālnāma-i Jahāngīrī, f.155; Tārīkh-i Dilkusha, MS. f.539b; Khulasat-ut Tawārīkh, f.374; Muntakhāb-ul Lubāb, pp.158-59; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, I, pp.111-12; Tazkirāt-ul Umarā, MS. 'B'; Tod, p.376; Mulla Abdul Baqi, the author of Ma'āsir-i Rahīmī (I, p.694) says that Akbar married the daughter of Bhagwān Dās which is incorrect.

2. Bānke Dās re Khyāt, p.20; Tod, II, p.22; Vir Vinod, II, 174.

3. Akbarnāma, II, p.358; Dalpat Vilas, 14-15; Tārīkh-i Ma'ādan-Akhbār-i Ahmadī, MS. f.251b; Vīr Vinod, 174, 485. According to the above sources, Kalyān Mal gave his niece in marriage to Akbar. But the authors of Tārīkh-i Alfī, MS. f.223, Muntakhāb-ut Tawārīkh, II, p.133, Zubdat-ut Tawārīkh, MS. f.172a, and Muntakhāb-ul Lubāb, I, p.175, incorrectly say that Kalyān Mal gave his own daughter in marriage to Akbar.

Merta,[1] the Bhāti chief of Jaisalmer[2] and the Ghelot chief of Dungarpur.[3] But all these, unlike Bhārmal, joined Akbar's service and established matrimonial ties with him only after he had captured Chittor and overrun most of Mewar.[4] Apparently, it was on account of the early cooperation that the Mughals received from the ruling family of the Kachawahas that these came to be treated by the former as most favoured among their Rājput nobles. The Kachawahas and to a lesser degree the Rāthors[5] were given the particular privilege of giving their daughters and nieces to Mughal princes in marriage throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries.[6] Apparently, in the cases of other chiefs such marriages were contracted only at the time of their entry into the royal service; and the princesses married did not receive the high status accorded to those from the Kachawaha and Rāthor houses.

---

1. Mārwār-re-Pargana-re-Vīgat, II, pp.69-70.
2. Akbarnāma, II, p.358; Vīr Vinod, II, p.174.
3. Akbarnāma, III, pp.196, 210.
4. Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Nobility Under Akbar, and the Development of His Religious Policy, 1560-80', Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, 1968, pp.32-33.
5. Another Rājput clan who remained exceptionally devoted to the Mughal cause, once they had joined the service down to 21 R.Y. of Aurangzeb's reign.
6. See Appendix 'C'.

While assessing the position of the Rājputs in the Mughal service, it would, therefore, be appropriate to examine the nature and working of these marriages between the Rājput clans and the ruling family in some depth.

One may examine this problem in the following manner: First of all one should assess the available evidence regarding the various factors that were responsible for Akbar's policy of establishing matrimonial ties with the Rājput clans in his service. Secondly, one may compare the total number of marriages contracted with the Rājput princesses by Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāh-jahān and Aurangzeb to ascertain whether this tendency becomes prominent with the passage of time or it recedes into back-ground after Akbar; or there are different phases when such marriages are encouraged or discouraged.

II

One of the factors, which seems to have led to the policy of establishing matrimonial ties with the Rājput chiefs, was the existence of a well established practice among the Timurids of securing the loyalties of the chiefs by marrying into their families. There are numerous instances to illustrate

this tendency. Yusuf Mirak, the author of _Mazhar-i Shāh Jahānī_, a local history of Sindh, compiled during Shāh Jahān's reign, says that Arghuns and Tarkhāns (who also belonged to Timurid tradition) used to marry the daughters of the chiefs of Sameja Unra, a local tribe of Sindh.[1] Bābur and Humayun also married the daughters of the local chiefs to secure their loyalties. On 28 January 1519, Bābur married Mubarak Begam, a daughter of Malik Shāh Mansoor, the chief of the Yusufzais, with a view to conciliate 'the Yusufzai horde'.[2] Similarly, in 1555, Humayun married the daughter of Jamāl Khān Mewatī, 'to soothe the mind of the _zamīndārs_'.[3]

On the other hand, it was also an established practice amongst the Rājput chiefs to have similar ties with the non-Rājput groups in a subordinate position to them. They used to take as their wives girls belonging to the non-Rājput _bhumia_ families of their regions without making any distinction on the basis of caste. The Kachawaha chiefs, for instance, used to

---

1. _Mazhar-i Shāh Jahānī_, p.90.
2. _Bābur Nāma_, tr. A.S. Beveridge, p.375.
3. _Akbar Nāma_, II, p.48.

marry into the families of the Meena chiefs.[1] The Meenas appear to have been displaced by the Kachawahas as the leading *zamīndārs* of the Amber region sometime before 1560. They still constituted a considerable section of the local landed class down to the end of the 17th century.[2] In establishing matrimonial ties with them, the Kachawahas must have been motivated by a desire to conciliate the Meena chiefs.

A practice already existed among the Rājputs to agree to give their daughters in marriage to the non-Rājput superior chiefs and rulers. From Appendix 'B', it is evident that this tradition dated back to the middle of the 15th century. A scrutiny of the evidence relating to individual cases, however, reveals that most of these marriages took place owing to the pressure of circumstances. For example, in 1445, Rāja Bhān of Idar, after he was defeated by Mahmud Shāh of Gujarat, married his daughter to the latter.[3] Rāo Jodha (1415-1488), gave his daughter in marriage to Shams Khān Qayam Khānī, the chief of

---

1. *Muhta Nainsi-ra-Khyat*, I, pp.312, 324. Bhar Mal's brother Rupsi and Raisal Darbārī had wives belonging to the Meena and Jāt communities.

2. Between 1557 and 1560, Bhār Mal ousted the Meena chief from Lawan. See, *Jaipur-ki-Vansavali*, MS. pages are unmarked,; *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, II, pp.282-83; *Vīr Vinod*, II, p.1276; *Jaipur ka Itihas* by H. Sharma, p.70.

3. *Mirāt-i Sikandarī*, p.49; *Vīr Vinod*, II, p.995.

Jhunjnu, to save himself from the threat of the Qiyām Khānis.[1] Similarly, a daughter of Rāo Lun Karan of Bikaner (1470-1526 AD) was married to Nahār Khān Qiyām Khānī to end a long standing feud between the two families.[2] Māldeo (1511-1562 AD), the ruler of Jodhpur, also established matrimonial ties with his three non-Rājput neighbours. He gave his daughters in marriage to Islām Shāh Sur[3] and the latter's commander, Hājī Khān,[4] the hakim of North-Eastern Rājputana. Another of his daughters and a grand-daughter were married to Sultān Mahmud Baigra of Gujarāt[5]

---

1. Qiyām Khān Rāso, pp.36-37, Shams Khān Qiyām Khānī belonged to the Chauhan Rajput family of Darera. His forefathers were converted to Islām during Sultān Firoz Shāh's reign (Qiyām Khān Raso, pp.13-14; Muhta Nainsi-re-Khyāt, III, pp.373-75). Shams Khān had matrimonial alliance with Sultān Bahlol Lodī (Qiyam Khān Rāso, p.37). Fadan Khān, one of the descendants of Shams Khān, joined the service of Humayun. After Humayun's death, Fadan Khan gave his daughter in marriage to Akbar. From Āin-i Akbarī (MS. f.248a), it appears that the Qiyam Khānis had zamindari rights in Fatehpur and Jhunjnu of Shaikhāwatī. Jahāngīr gave Fatehpur as altamga jāgir ( आलत मोहर रो पट्टो ) to Alaf Khān (Qiyam Khān Rāso, p.59). On 26 November 1620, Alaf Khān was given the charge of Kāngra fort and his mansab was fixed at 1500/4000 (Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.320). During Aurangzeb's reign, a sardār of Qiyām Khānis, Alaf Khān held a mansab of 1500/700 (Ālamgīr Nāma, p.290), M. Athar Ali (The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, p.201) holds that Alaf Khan was an Afghan which is, obviously, a slip. He was not an Afghan but he was a Shaikhzāda. For detailed study, see, Sunita Budhwar, 'A Qaim Khani Shaikhzada Family of Fatehpur - Jhunjnu', PIHC, Hyderabad, 1978.

2. Qiyām Khān Rāso, p.49.

3. Bānke Dās re Khyāt, p.20.

4. Afsāna-i Shāhan, MS. f.178b; Mārwār-re-Pargana-re-Vigat, I, p.52; Bānke Dās re Khyāt, p.20.

5. Mārwār-re-Pargana-re-Vigat, I, p.52; Bānke Dās re Khyāt,20.

and Daulat Khān, the chief of Nāgor[1] respectively. It would appear that having established these ties with his three powerful neighbours, Māldeo had become very influential and he expanded his territory at the cost of smaller chieftains.[2] Māldeo came to be regarded as "the most potent chieftain of Hindustān" by the Persian chronocles of the sixteenth century.[3] Further, Bhār Mal who gained the throne of Amber after ousting Askaran, offered his daughter in marriage to Hājī Khān[4] to wean away the later from his rival Askaran and secure Hājī Khān's support for his claim to the seat of Amber. Similarly, Viram Deve Rāthor of Merta, after having been ousted from Merta by Māldeo, gave his daughter in marriage to the chief of Jālore, a Muslim, in the hope of re-occupying Merta with his help.[5] Sometimes such marriages would be made in the hope of receiving rewards. For

---

1. Waqiāt-i Mushtāqī, MS. f.56b; Tārīkh-i Daudī, p.156; Bānke-Dās-re-Khyāt, p.20.

2. In 1531, when Māldeo became the Rāja, he had Jodhpur, Sojat and Jaitaran under his sway. Later on, he conquered a number of neighbouring parganas. He extended his possessions by subjugating Bhādrajun, Jālore, Siwana, Sānchor, Phalodī, Merta, Bikaner, Ajmer, Chātsu, Tonk, Toda, Mālpura and Sāmbhar. See, Marwar-re-Pargana-re Vigat, I, pp.43-45.

3. Akbar Nāma, II, pp.160, 197; Muntakhāb-ut Tawārīkh, I, p.439; Tabaqat-i Akbarī, p.205; Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.277; Tārīkh-i Shahī, p.163.

4. Jaipur-i Vanshavali, MS. pages are unmarked.

5. Mārwār-re-Pargana-re-Vigat, II, p.52-54.

instance, Karamsī Rāthor of Merta, who gave in marriage his sister to Daulat Khān Nāgorī, received Khinvasar village of Asop *pargana*.[1] Such marriages are also traceable in Kashmir where the Sulṭāns established matrimonial alliances with the hill Rājput chiefs. Bahādur Singh, the chief of Kishtwar (1570-1588 AD) gave one of his daughters in marriage to Sulṭān ʿAlī Shāh.[2] Another daughter of his was married to a nephew of the Sulṭān.[3]

III

A perusal of Appendix 'C' giving a list of marriages contracted by the Mughal rulers, from Akbar down to Aurangzeb, highlights certain interesting features of the Mughal policy in this respect.

Firstly, it would appear that in most cases the establishment of matrimonial ties accompanied the entry of the

---

1. *Bānke Dās re Khyāt*, p.67. Asop *pargana* was in the *sarkār* of Jodhpur. See, *Āīn-i Akbarī*, II, p.276.

2. *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, III, p.498.

3. *Ibid.*, p.499.

chiefs concerned into royal service. For instance, in January 1562, Bhār Mal joined Mughal service and as a part of agreement gave his daughter in marriage to Akbar.[1] Similarly, in 1570, Rāi Kalyān Mal of Bikaner gave his two nieces in marriage to the Emperor and joined the Mughal service.[2] About the same time, Rāwal Har Rāi of Jaisalmer married his daughter to Akbar[3] and Rāo Chander Sen of Jodhpur married his sister to the Emperor and entered royal service.[4] In 1573, while entering into an agreement with Rāja Jai Chand of Nagarkot, it was made a condition that the Rāja would give his daughter in marriage to Akbar.[5] In March 1577, at the time of joining the Mughal service, Rāwal Askaran of Dungarpur gave his daughter in marriage to Akbar.[6] In 1581, Kesho Dās Rāthor of Merta married his daughter to the Emperor and entered the royal service.[7] In May 1597, Rāja Lachmi Narain of Cooch Bihar's entry in the Mughal service was

---

1. Akbar Nāma, II, pp.157-58; III, p.35; Muntakhāb-ut Tawārīkh, II, p.151; Iqbal Nama-i K Jahangiri, p.252.
2. Akbar Nāma, II, p.358; Dalpat Vilas, pp.14-15; Āīn-i Akbarī, p.182.
3. Akbar Nāma, II, p.358; Āīn-i Akbarī, p.184.
4. Bānke Dās re Khyāt, p.20; Vīr Vinod, II, p.174; Āīn-i Akbarī, p.182.
5. Akbar Nāma, III, p.36.
6. Ibid., pp.196, 210.
7. Mārwār-re-Pargana-re-Vigat, II, pp.69-70.

accompanied by the establishment of matrimonial tie.[1] It is quite understandable that the chiefs, entering the royal service, should be called upon to attach themselves to the royal family by special ties. This would explain the large number of such marriages taking place during Akbar's reign when most of the important Rājput clans joined imperial service. During the reigns of Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb the number of such marriages seems to have declined. As the appendix on marriages evinces, during the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb, respectively, 34, 7, 4, 8 marriages are recorded of Mughal Emperors and princes with princesses from families of local chiefs.[2] A different pattern is found in the number of matrimonial ties contracted by the Mughal Emperors with the different families of Mughal nobilities.[3]

However, the two leading families of the Rājput chiefs, namely Kachawahas of Amber and Rāthors chiefs of Mārwār, were

---

1. Jaipur ki Vanshavali, MS. cf. also Akbar Nama, tr. H. Beveridge, p.1068, N.2.

2. See, Appendix 'C'.

3. Afzal Husain, 'Marriages among Mughal nobles - an index of Status and Aristocratic integration', PIHC, 1972. According to the table furnished by the author, the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb saw 71, 47, 41 and 73 such marriages respectively.

singled out for a special treatment in this respect. As already observed, the Mughal rulers continued to take brides from these two houses down to Bahādur Shāh's reign.[1] It would appear that in this respect, the Rājāwat sub-clan of the Kachawahas was the most favoured family till the end of Akbar's reign.[2] But apparently after Jahāngīr's accession, a sort of parity was maintained between the Kachawahas and the Rāthors. In all, down to Bahādur Shāh's time, there took place 7 marriages with princesses belonging to the house of Jodhpur while 5 brides were taken from the Kachawaha chiefs of Amber.[3] The details of marriages in Rājput families after Akbar are as follows:

Jahāngīr's first Kachawaha wife, daughter of Bhagwant Dās, committed suicide on 6th May 1605.[4] Three years later in

---

1. In March 1714, Ajit Singh Rāthor of Jodhpur gave his daughter in marriage to Farrukh Siyar. See, Muntakhab-ul Lubāb, p.738; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, III, p.757.

2. Cf. Badauni, Muntakhab-ut Tawārikh, II, p.341. It can be clearly deduced from the manner in which Salīm's marriage with Bhagwant Dās's daughter is reported that it was his first wedding. The fact that a girl from the Kachawaha ruling family was selected to become the first legal wife of the heir apparent, clearly indicates that till then this particular family enjoyed a special status among the Rājput chieftains in royal service.

3. See Appendix 'C'.

4. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.26; Tārīkh-i Dilkusha, MS. f.577a.

1608 A.D., Jahāngīr asked Mān Singh for the hand of his grand-daughter (a daughter of Jagat Singh), which amounted to conferring a special honour upon the Kachawaha clan.[1] Although Jahāngīr was not happy with the Rāja on account of his collaboration with Khusrau on the issue of succession, he preferred to maintain the matrimonial ties with the Kachawaha ruling family.

Jahāngīr also established matrimonial tie with the Bundila chief of Orcha. In 1609, after the revolt, when Rām Chandra submitted, he gave his daughter in marriage to Jahāngīr.[2] It is important to note that during the period of Khusrau's revolt, matrimonial ties contracted between the Kachawaha and the Rāthor clans. In 1625, another Kachawaha princess, the sister of Mirzā Rāja Jai Singh, was married to Dāwar Bakhsh.[3] Earlier to this, in 1624, Prince Parwez married the sister of Rāja Gaj Singh.[4] But Shāh Jahān, who was born of a Rāthor

---

1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp.68, 69; Ma'āsir-i Jahāngīrī, MS. f.57a; Muntakhāb-ul Lubāb, I, p.259; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.141-42; cf. Athar Ali (The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, p.142) who suggests that it was regarded as a sign of honour for a noble that his daughter should be demanded in marriage by a Mughal Emperor.

2. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.77.

3. Akhbārāt, 20th R.Y., J.N. Sarkar Collection, Calcutta.

4. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.380.

princess[1] and was himself married to a Rāthor princess during Jahāngīr's life time[2] did not have a Kachawaha wife. But in 1654, Prince Sulaiman Shukoh married the daughter of Rāo Amar Singh of Nāgor.[3] One of the noteworthy features of Shāh Jahān's reign was to establish matrimonial ties with the hill Rājput chiefs. Prince Shuja is known to have married the daughter of Rāja Gaur Sen of Kishtawar.[4] In 1658, when Sulaiman Shukoh was in Srinagar-Garhwal, he married the daughter of Rāja Prithvi Singh.[5] During Aurangzeb's reign, the number of marriages between the members of the royal family and princesses from the Rājput families remained almost same.[6]

IV

When Jahāngīr married Jagat Singh's daughter, her maternal grandfather Bhoj Hāra of Bundī who was also in royal

---

1. Akbar Nāma, III, p.603; Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.8.
2. Mārwār-re-Pargana-re-Vigat, I, p.111; S.R. Sharma (The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors, p.79) says that Shāh Jahān did not marry a Hindu princess but from Mārwār-re-Pargana-re Vigat, a contemporary Rajasthani source, it appears that Shāh Jahān married the daughter of Rāo Sakat Singh, son of Motā Rāja.
3. Wāris, Bādshāh Nāma, p.481; Vir Vinod, II, pp.342-43.
4. Lāhorī, Bādshāh Nāma, II, pp.434-35.
5. Masum, ff.153a, 156a.
6. See, Appendix 'C'.

service expressed his resentment over it. Jahāngīr was greatly displeased with the Hāra chief on account of this attitude.[1] As a matter of fact such a prejudice on the part of the Haras and their disapproval of the marriages between the daughters and nieces of Rājput chiefs with the Mughal Emperors went back to Akbar's reign. In 1569, Surjan Hāra of Ranthambor submitted to the Mughals and had taken up service under Akbar on the condition that he would not be asked to give his daughter in marriage to the Emperor.[2] Apart from the Haras this feeling was also shared by a number of individual chiefs belonging to certain other clans. It appears that, to begin with, a section of the Rāthor chiefs of Mārwār were also opposed to the idea of the establishing matrimonial ties with the imperial family, but the opposition had been usually overruled by the reigning chief. For instance, in 1585, Kallā, a nephew of Mota Rāja, strongly objected to the marriage of the Rāja's daughter with Prince Salim, but his objection was disregarded by the Rāja, and ~~xyxaxxiatax~~ upon his showing disaffection, he was destroyed a year later with the help of the Mughals.[3]

---

1. Zakhirāt-ul Khawānīn, I, p.295; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, I, 141-42.
2. Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, II, p.383; Vir Vinod, II, pp.84, 85.
3. Vir Vinod, II, p.182.

It is probable that at the heart of the matter was the question whether the Mughal Imperial family was or was not superior in status to the Rājputs. As we have seen the Rājputs were not averse to themselves marrying for political reasons women from lower castes; but the idea of 'giving daughters' to them was not acceptable. Even the Rājput chiefs intervened in the matters where the lower castes tried to marry in the upper castes. According to Muhta Nainsī, a Meena bhumia of Bundi wished to marry a daughter of a Brahman, the latter resisted and sought protection of the Hara chief.[1] Similarly, Shyamal Dās informs us that when a certain Dungar Bheel tried to marry the daughter of a mahajan by force, Rāwal Bir Singh Ghelot of Dungarpur intervened in the matter and punished the Bheels.[2] Thus to the loyal Rājput chief's refusal to give a princess to the Mughal Court might signify contempt for the status of the dynasty he himself served; on the other hand, the fact still remained that the Imperial Family was of another religion, and the princess who married, went out of the fold of her forefathers. The political loyalty here conflicted with the ritualistic prejudice of ages; and yet the former so frequently worn out.

---

1. Muhta Nainsi re Khyāt, I, p.97.
2. Vir Vinod, II, p.1005.

There is no basis for the assumption that the Rājput chiefs who established matrimonial ties with the Mughal Emperors were treated as out-caste. Such assumption, often reflected in the writings of modern historians,[1] is entirely based on Tod's testimony which is not corroborated by the contemporary authorities. On the contrary, if one studies the pattern of matrimonial ties among the leading Rājput families during the period 1547-1667, it would emerge that the chiefs whose daughters were married to the Mughal rulers and princes continued to be treated as the members of the caste and no stigma attached to them on account of their relationship with the royal family or for that matter any other Muslim superior chief. For example, the Sisodias and Haras of Bundi did not give their daughters in marriage to the Mughal Emperors but they married their daughters to those very Rājput chiefs who had matrimonial ties with the Mughal Emperors, or, like the Rāthors, with some Muslim chiefs.[2]

---

1. H. Goetz, 'The Policy of the Grand Mughals vis-a-vis Rajput States', Indian Culture, XIV, p.94, 1948, Calcutta; Raghuveer Singh, Purve Ādhunik Rajasthan, p.42; M. Mujeeb, The Indian Muslims, pp.258, 359.

2. There took place a number of marriages among the Sisodias, Hāras, Bhātis and the Rāthors.

   (a) Rāna Sānga (24th March 1481-April 1527) of Mewar married Dhan Bāi, the daughter of Va'āgh, the son of Rāo Suja Rāthor (M.K., I, p.102).

   (b) Rājkanvari, the daughter of Māldeo Rāthor (4 Dec. 1511 - 9 Nov. 1562) was married to Surtān, the son of Surjan Hāra. (M.P. ra Vigat, I, p.53; B.K., p.20).

.....contd.

The Kachawahas of Amber and Rathors of Jodhpur and Bikaner who were the first Rājput clans to establish matrimonial

contd......

(c) Rāimal, the son of Maldeo Rāthor, married Rattan Kanverī, the daughter of Surjan Hāra (1554-1585) of Bundi.(B.K.,19).

(d) Rāna Udai Singh (4 Aug. 1522 - 28 Feb. 1572) of Mewar married Karmavati, the daughter of Rāo Chandra Sen of Jodhpur (B.K., p.22).

(e) Rāi Ray Singh Rāthor (1541-1611) of Bikaner married Jaswantde, the daughter of Rāna Udai Singh Sisodia of Mewar (D.V., pp.12-13).

(f) In 1637, Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur married Rām Kamveri, the daughter of Chatarsāl Hāra of Bundi (Waqai Ajmer, p.241; M.U., I, pp.405-06; M.P. re-Viqat, II, p.462; M.L., II, p.43).

(g) In 1655, Jaswant Singh Rāthor of Jodhpur married the daughter of Biram Deve Sisodia (Wāris, p.298; M.U., II, p.881).

(h) Jaswant Singh (1627-1678) of Jodhpur married a Sisodia princess of Mewar (Bernier, p.37).

(i) Jaswant Singh married the daughter of Sorab Sisodia (M.U., I, p.754).

(j) Mahā Rana Amar Singh (26 March 1560 - 30 Oct. 1620) of Udaipur married a daughter of Rāwal Amar Singh Bhātī of Jaisalmer (V.V., II, p.1764).

(k) In 1622, Amar Singh, the son of Gaj Singh Rāthor of Jodhpur married a princess of Udaipur (M.P. re-Viqat, I, p.107).

(l) Karamsī Rāthor of Merta married the sister of Rāna Jagat Singh of Udaipur (Pādshāh Nāma, Lahori, II, p.198).

(m) Bhān, son of Sakat Singh Sisodia and the grandson of Rāna Udai Singh, married Rāj Kanver, the daughter of Mota Rāja of Jodhpur (M.K., I, 26).

(n) Rāna Sānga's son Bhoj Rāj married the daughter of Viram Deva Rāthor of Merta (Vir Vinod, p.362).

(o) Rāna Rāj Singh (1652-1680) married Chārumatī, the daughter of Rāja Roop Singh Rāthor of Kishangarh (V.V., p.476).

(p) Rāna Raj Singh married the daughter of Sabal Singh Bhātī of Jaisalmer (V.V., p.476).

(q) In 1652, Anoop Singh of Bikaner married Rāna Rāj Singh's sister (ibid., p.401).

contd.....

ties with the Muslim rulers at an early date continued to enjoy a high status in the Rājput society. Precisely, during the period they established matrimonial ties first with Afghān chief, Ḥājī Khān, and later on with the Mughal rulers, they went on contracting similar ties with the other Rājput clans without apparent difficulty.

V

The establishment of matrimonial ties between the Mughal ruling family and the Rājput clans was the direct outcome of the recruitment of the Rājput chieftains into the imperial service in considerable strength. According to the established custom of the Timurids and the Rājputs, the hereditary chiefs entering into the service of a ruler were expected to offer their daughters or nieces in marriage to the members of the ruling family. Apparently, the caste restrictions were not considered by many, though not all Rājput clans, binding enough to prohibit such marriages. Even prior to these matrimonial ties with the Mughal ruling family, the Rājput chiefs were having similar ties with certain Muslim chieftains of Northern Rājputana and Gujarāt.

---

contd......

(r) Mirzā Rāja Jai Singh married a sister of Rāja Jagat Singh of Pundir (*Zakhīrāt-ul Khawānīn*, III, p.122).

In most cases, the marriage of a Mughal ruler in the family of a Rājput chief would take place only once, that is, when the chief of that particular clan entered royal service. This would explain the fact that the largest number of such marriages took place during Akbar's reign. In this respect an exception was made in the cases of Rājāwat chiefs of the Kachawaha clan and the Rāthor chiefs of Jodhpur. These two families were given the privilege of marrieges with the Imperial house down to the end of the seventeenth century. The privilege was most frequently accorded to the Rājāwat chiefs till Jahāngīr's time; but from Shāh Jahān's reign onwards, it seems, the Rāthor chiefs of Jodhpur were given precedence. Such inter-marriage was thus proclaimed as a sign of status of the particular Rājput family within the Mughal nobility and was by no means a badge of disrepute.

## Appendix 'A'

### MARRIAGES CONTRACTED BY THE MUGHAL RULERS WITH THE GIRLS BELONGING TO THE FAMILIES OF LOCAL CHIEFS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER, DOWN TO HUMAYUN'S DEATH - 1555.

----------

| S.No. | D a t e | Timurid Rulers | Racial Characteristics of local chiefs | Sources and |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 28th Jan. 1519 | Bābur married Mubārak Begam, the daughter of Malik Shāh Manṣoor, the chief of Yusuf Zais | Yusuf Zai (Kābul) | Bābur Nāma, tr. A.S. Beveridge, p.375. |
| 2. | Date is not mentioned | Humayun matried daughter of Jamāl, the brother of Ḥasan Khān Mewātī | Shaikhzādā | A.N., II, p.48. |

## Appendix 'B'

LIST OF THE MARRIAGES BETWEEN THE DAUGHTERS OF IMPORTANT CHIEFS OF RĀJPUTANA AND THE NON-RĀJPUT RULERS, MUSLIMS AS WELL AS NON-MUSLIMS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER TILL 1562.

----------

| S.No. | D a t e | The Rājput chiefs who gave their daughters in marriage to Non-Rājput chiefs | Racial characteristic of Non-Rājput chiefs | Sources and Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 1445 AD | Bhān of Idar gave his daughter in marriage to Mahmud Shāh of Gujarāt. | Gujarāt | Mīrāt-i-Sikandari p.49, tr.23; Vir Vinod, II, 995. |
| 2. | 1415-1488 | Rāo Jodha, the chief of Mārwār, gave his daughter in marriage to Shams Khān Qiyam Khānī, chief of Jhunjnu & Fatehpur | Qiyām Khānī (Jhunjnu & Fatehpur) | Qiyam Khan Raso, pp.36-37. |
| 3. | 13 Jan. 1470 - 29th June 1526 | Rāo Loon Karan's daughter was married to Nāhar Khān | -do- | Ibid., p.49. |
| 4. | 4 Dec.1511 9 Nov.1562 | Ratnāvatī, the daughter of Māldeo was married to Hājī Khān a commander of Salīm Shāh Sur | Afghān | Afsāna-i Shāhān, MS. f.178b; M.P.-re-Vigat, I, 52; B.K., p.20. |
| 5. | -do- | Kankāvatī, the daughter of Māldeo was married to Mahmood Baigra of Gujarāt | -- -- | M.P.-re-Vigat, I, p.52; B.K., p.20. |
| 6. | -do- | Lāl Bāi, the daughter of Māldeo Rāthor of Jodhpur was married to Sur Pādshāh (perhaps Islām Shāh Sur) | Afghān | B.K., p.20. |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7. | 13 Jan. 1538 - 23 July 1595 | One of the daughters of Mota Rāja of Jodhpur was married to Chiram Khān of Nāgore | (Nāgor) | M.P.-ra-Vigat, I, p.89. Chiram Khan is not identified. |
| 8. | 31 July 1541-1581 | Dhan Bāi, the daughter of Rāo Chander Sen, the son of Māldeo was married to Daulat Khān of Nāgor | (Nāgor) | Waqiat-i Mushtaqi, MS. f.56b; Tarikh-i Daudi, p.156; B.K., p.22; V.V., II,808. |
| 9. | 1547 - Jan.1574 | Bhār Mal married one of his daughters to Hāji Khān | Afghān | Jaipur ki Vanshavali MS., pages are unmarked |
| 10. | Date is not mentioned | Rāwal Pe-ta of Rārodhra married his widow daughter to Gajnī Khān, chief of Jālor | Afghān (Jālore) | M.K., II, p.97. |
| 11. | -do- | Viram Deve Rāthor (1477-1543) of Merta gave his daughter in marriage to a chief of Jālore | (Jālore) | M.P.-ra-Vigat, II, pp.52-54. |
| 12. | -do- | Karamsī Rāthor of Merta gave his sister Bhāga Bāi in marriage to Daulat Khān Nāgorī | (Nāgor) | B.K., p.67. |

Appendix 'C'

MARRIAGES CONTRACTED BY THE MUGHAL RULERS WITH THE GIRLS TAKING FROM THE FAMILIES OF THE LOCAL CHIEFS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER FROM 1562 TO 1707

---------

## AKBAR

| S.No. | Date | Marriages | Racial character-istics and place | References and other Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Jan. 1562 | Akbar married the daughter of Rāja Bhār Mal | Kachawaha (Amber) | T.Alfī, MS. f.145; A.N.,II, 157-58; M.T., 50; Z.T., MS. f.148a; T.J., tr. p.7. |
| 2. | Jan. 1563 | Akbar married the daughter-in-law of Shaikh Bādah of Āgra | (Āgra) | M.R.,I,694-5; T.D., MS., f.539b; K.T.,374; M.L.,I,p.159; M.U.,I, pp.111-12; M.T.,II,61. |
| 3. | 9th Aug. 1564 | Akbar married the daughter of Mian Mubārak Shāh of Khandesh | (Deccani) (Khāndesh) | A.N., II, 230-31; T.Alfī, f.615. |
| 4. | 15th Nov. 1570 | Rāi Kalyān Mal gave his niece in marriage to Akbar | Rāthor (Bikaner) | A.N.,II,358; D.V., 14-15; M.T., 133; V.V., II, 174, 485. |
| 5. | -do- | Rāi Kalyān Mal gave another niece in marriage to Akbar. She was daughter of Bhīnve Rāj, a brother of Kalyān Mal | -do- | D.V., 14-5. |
| 6. | -do- | Akbar married the daughter of Rāwal Har Rāi of Jaisalmer | (Bhātī) (Jaisalmer) | A.N., II, 358; V.V., II, 174. |
| 7. | Nov. 1570 | Rukmavatī, the daughter of Māldeo was married to Akbar | Rāthor (Jodhpur) | Nuskha-i-Dilkusha, tr. p.18; B.K., p.20; Tod, II, p.22; V.V., II, 174. |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8. | 1573 | Akbar married the daughter of Rāja Jai Chand of Nagarkot | Nagarkot | A.N., III, 36. |
| 9. | March 1577 | Akbar married the daughter of Rāwal Āskaran of Dungarpur | Gehlot (Dungarpur) | Ibid., 196, 210. |
| 10. | 1581 | Kesho Dās married one of his daughters to Akbar | Rāthor (Merta) | M.P.-re-Vigat, II, 69-70. |
| 11. | 16th Feb. 1584 | Prince Salim married the daughter of Bhagwant Dās | Kachawaha (Amber) | A.N.,III,451; M.T., II,341; T.J.,7; Lahori,II,603-4; T.D., MS. 577a; Z.K., I,105; M.L.,I,189; 245-46; M.U.,I,189; K.T.,375. |
| 12. | 26th June 1586 | Akbar married the daughter of Sa'id Khān Gakkhar | Gakhar | A.N., III, 494. |
| 13. | -do- | Prince Salīm married the daughter of Rāi Rāi Singh of Bikaner | Rāthor (Bikaner) | Ibid.; M.T.,II,353; Tod,II,145; V.V.,II, 168-69. |
| 14. | 1587 | Prince Salīm married the daughter of Mota Rāja of Jodhpur | Rāthor (Jodhpur) | A.N.,III,603; T.J., tr.,19; M.J.,10a; M.L.,I,24546; M.U.,II, 180-81; T.U.,155; Tod,I,267; V.V.,II, 182, 815. |
| 15. | 1590 | Prince Salīm married the daughter of Mirzā Sampat | Hazāra | A.N.,III,582. |
| 16. | 1st Jan. 1592 | Prince Salim married the daughter of Alī Rāi, the ruler of Tibet | Tibet | Ibid., 603; M.T.,376. |
| 17. | October 1592 | Akbar married the daughter of Shams Cak of Kashmir | Cak (Kashmir) | A.N., III, 626. |
| 18. | -do- | Prince Salīm married the daughter of Mubārak Khān, the son of Ḥasan Čak of Kashmir | Ca-k (Kashmir) | Ibid. |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 19. | 20th April 1593 | Prince Salīm married the daughter of Rāja ʿAlī Khān of Khāndesh | Deccani (Khāndesh) | A.N., III, 639. |
| 20. | 2nd Oct. 1595 | Danial married the daughter of Rāi Mal, the son of Rāi Māldeo | Rāthor (Jodhpur) | Ibid., 696. |
| 21. | May 1597 | Akbar married the daughter of Rāja Lachmi Nārain of Cooch Bihar | Cooch Bihar | Jaipur ki Vanshavali, pages are unmarked; cf. also A.N., tr. H. Beveridge, 1068, f.n.2 |
| 22. | March 1604 | Prince Salīm married the daughter of ʿAdil Khān of Bijapur | Deccani (Bijapur) | A.N., III, 827; T.D., MS 576b; M.L., I, 216. |
| 23. | Date is not mentioned | Akbar married the daughter of Fadan Khān Qiyam Khānī | Shaikhzāda (Fatehpur & Jhunjnu) | Qiyām Khān Rāso, 54. |
| 24. | -do- | One of the daughters of Rāo Chander Sen Rāthor of Jodhpur was sent in dola to Akbar. | Rāthor (Jodhpur) | B.K., 22. |
| 25. | -do- | Prince Murād married the daughter of Bahādur Khān s/o Rāja ʿAlī Khān of Khāndesh | Deccani (Khāndēsh) | M.R., II, 481. |
| 26. | -do- | Prince Sultān Salīm married the daughter of Rāwal Bhim of Jaisalmer | Bhātī (Jaisalmer) | T.J., tr. I, 326. |
| 27. | -do- | Akbar married into the family of Tunwar chiefs | Tunwar (Gwalior) | Z.K., I, 104 (from Āʾīn, II, tr. Jarrett, 198, it appears that Tunwar zamīndārs were concentrated around Gwalior) |
| 28. | -do- | Akbar married into the family of Baghela chiefs | Baghela (Bhatta) | Z.K., I, 104. |
| 29. | -do- | Prince Salim married the daughter of Kesho Dās Rāthor | Rāthor (Merta) | T.J., I, 19; Waris, 238. |
| 30. | -do- | Danial married the daughter of Dalpat Ujjainya the Rāja of Bhojpur | Ujjainya (Bhojpur) | A.N., III, 826. |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 31. | -do- | Akbar married Goharun Nisa Begam, the sister of Shaikh Jamāl Bakhtiyār | (Chandāwar and Jalesar) | M.U.,II,564,566; He was the son of Mohd. Bakhtiyār and resided in Chandāwar and Jalesar. |
| 32. | -do- | Prince Salīm married the daughter of Darya Malbhās | -- | A.N.,III,572, the bride's father's name was Darya Komm and was a powerful Rāja at the foot of the Lāhore Mountains. See Prince's Jahāngīr,34. |
| 33. | -do- | Prince Salīm married the sister of Abiya Kashmīrī, the son of Abdul Cak | Cak (Kashmir) | A.N., III, 609. |
| 34. | -do- | Prince Danial married the daughter of 'Abdullāh Biluc | Biluc | A.N., III, 662. |

## JAHĀNGĪR

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 28th May 1608 | Jahāngīr married the daughter of Rāja Jagat Singh s/o Mān Singh | Kachawaha (Amber) | T.J.,68, 69; M.J., 57a; M.L.,I,259; M.U., II, 141-2. |
| 2. | 1st Feb. 1609 | Jahāngīr married the daughter of Rām Chander Bundela | Bundela (Orcha) | T.J., 77. |
| 3. | 22nd Nov. 1614 | Jahāngīr married the daughter of Rāja Lachmī Nārain of Cooch Bihar | Cooch Bihar | T.J., 131. |
| 4. | -do- | Jahāngīr married another daughter of Lachmī Nārain of Cooch Bihar | -do- | -do- |
| 5. | April 1624 | Prince Parwez married Manbhāvatī, the sister of Rāja Gaj Singh | Rāthor (Jodhpur) | T.J., 308; M.P.-re-Vigat, I, 108. |
| 6. | [illegible] 1625 | Dāwar Bakhsh, son of Prince Khusrau married Rāja Jai Singh's sister | Kachawaha (Amber) | Akhbārāt, 20th R.Y., J.N. Sarkar's collection, Calcutta, 2-4. |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7. | -- | Prince Khurram married the daughter of Rāo Sakat Singh, son of Mota Rāja | Rāthor (Jodhpur) | M.P.-re-Vigat, I, 111. |

## SHĀHJAHĀN

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 1654 | Prince Sulaiman Shukoh married the daughter of Amar Singh Rāthor of Nāgor | Rāthor (Nāgor) | Wāris,481; M.L.,II, 730; V.V.,II,342-43. |
| 2. | 1655-56 | Prince Sulṭān Muḥammad married the daughter of ʻAbdullāh Qutub Shāh of Golcunda. | Deccanī (Golcunda) | M.U., III, 620-21. |
| 3. | -- | Prince Shuja married the daughter of Rāja Gaur Sen of Kishtawar | Kishtawar | Lāhorī, II,434-35; Kanbu, II, 445. |
| 4. | 1657-58 | Sulaiman Shukoh married the daughter of Prithvī Singh | Garhwāl | Masum, Tārīkh-i Shāh Shuja, 153b, 156a. |

## AURANGZEB

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 17th Nov. 1661 | Prince Mohd. Muazzam married the daughter of Rup Singh Rāthor, Rāja of Kishangarh | Rāthor (Kishangarh) | M.A.,3-4, 181-82; Ālamgīr Nāma, 639-41, 874; V.V., II, 529. She was converted to Islām. |
| 2. | 3rd May 1669 | Prince Aʻzam married Rahmat Bāno, the daughter of the King of Assam | Assam | M.A., 73. |
| 3. | 2nd Jan. 1676 | Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān married the daughter of Rāja of Kishtawar | Kishtawar | M.A., 148. |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4. | 1st Sept. 1676 | Prince Moḥd. Akbar married the daughter of Allah Qulī Gakhar, the son of Murād Qulī Gakhar | Gakhar | M.A., 155. |
| 5. | 5th July 1678 | Prince Moḥd. A'ẓam married the daughter of Kirat Singh s/o Mirzā Rāja Jai Singh | Kachawaha (Amber) | Ibid., 167. |
| 6. | 26th July 1681 | Prince A'ẓam married Shahar Bāno, the daughter of 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur | Deccanī (Bijapur) | Ibid., 210. |
| 7. | 30th July 1681 | Kām Bakhsh married Kalyān Kanwar, the daughter of Amar Chand, a brother of Jagat Singh of Manoharpur | Shaikhāwat (Manohar-pur) | Ibid., 210-11; M.L., II, 510. Shaikhāwat is a sub-branch of the Kachawaha clan; Mīrāt-ul-'Ālam, 556. |
| 8. | | Prince Muḥammad married the daughter of Qutb-ul Mulk | Deccanī | M.U., II, 190-91. |

## Chapter VII

## SOCIAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN THE MUGHALS AND THE RĀJPUTS

An eminent sociologist Professor J. Goody says that the marriage policy is the most important factor in the change of cultural features.[1] It would be, therefore, natural to assume that the marriage contracted between the women of the leading Rājput clans and the members of the Mughal ruling family must have brought about a certain degree of cultural transformation among both the groups. An attempt is being made here to study and analyse the impact of these marriages on the two groups and determine the extent of success they achieved in assimilating the various features of two cultures. To begin with one would like to study the nature of various ceremonies performed on these occasions and also the treatment of the Rājput princesses in the Royal harem with special reference to the Kachawāha princesses. In this connection all those instances that would go to suggest the nature and extent of the influence exercised by these princesses on the private lines and outlook of the rulers must also be taken into

---

1. Jack Goody, 'Marriage Policy and Incorporation in Northern Ghana', Comparative Studies in Kinship, p.154.

consideration. At the same time, it must also be investigated as to how far the marriage alliances influenced the religious as well as social outlook of the Rājput chiefs and particularly those of the Kachawāha chiefs. Further, it will be examined, as to how far did the Kachawāha nobles cooperate with the Mughal Emperors with respect to some of their measures aimed at promoting a change in the cultural outlook of the nobility as such.

It appears that to begin with, while performing the marriage ceremonies, both sides were treated on an equal footing and the customs of both the Mughals and the Rājputs were observed.[1] When Jahāngīr married the sister of Kalyān Dās, the marriage ceremony was performed by Hindū rituals.[2] This implies that the daughters of the Rājput chiefs taken into marriages by Akbar were not converted to Islām. This practice appears to have continued during Jahāngīr's reign as well.[3] In the accounts of Jahāngīr's marriages with the Rājput princesses there is no reference to the conversion of the brides.

---

1. Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh, II, p.341.

2. Mārwār re Pargana ri Vigat, II, pp.440-41. Kalyān was the nephew of Mota Rāja of Jodhpur.

3. In the account of Jahāngīr's marriages with the Rājput princesses, there is no reference to the conversion of the brides. Cf. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp.68, 69, 77, 131, 380.

But as is well-known, this policy was reversed by Aurangzeb. It is known that when in 1661, Prince Mu'azzam married the daughter of Roop Singh Rāthor, the bride was converted, perhaps with the concurrence of her father, to Islām.[1]

On the occasion of Prince Salīm's marriage with the daughter of Bhagwant Dās in 1584, the marriage rites of both the Hindūs and the Mughals were observed. While the proposal for this match came from the parents of the bride which was in conformity with the Rājput practice,[2] the marriage proper was solemnised first through 'aqd presided by a qāzī, fixing the mihr of the bride at two crore tankas, and later through the Hindu rituals of going round the fire. When the bride's litter moved in procession from her father's house to the royal camp, gold coins were scattered by Akbar all along the way. Raja Bhagwant Dās gave in dowry several strings of horses, one hundred elephants, a large number of slave boys and girls of Abyssinian, Indian and Circassian origin, golden and silver vessels with jewels. The Rāja also presented Persian, Turkish

---

1. Ma'āsir-i 'Ālamgīrī, pp.3-4; 'Ālamgīr Nāma, pp.639-41.
2. At another occasion (1608), the initiative came from the side of the royal family. Observing the Mughal custom, a sum of Rs.80,000 was sent to the bride's family as sachāq (marriage present). Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp.67-68.

and Arabian horses with golden saddles to the nobles, present at the marriage ceremony.[1] In this connection, it is significant that Badāunī who particularly noticed these details, has not criticised Akbar for allowing the marriage of his son to be solemnised in addition to 'aqd through Hindū rituals repugnant to the basic spirit of Islām. This would suggest that by the time Badāunī compiled his book, this practice had come to be looked as an accepted norm even by persons of orthodox views so far as the marriages of the members of the Royal Family with the Hindū women were concerned. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, one may assume that on the occasion of Jahāngīr's second marriage into the Kachawāha family in 1608, the same procedure must have been followed. The only difference in the procedure, which is noted by Jahāngīr was that the initiative for the match this time came from the side of the Mughal ruler.[2]

Further, it seems that the Rājput princesses in the Mughal harem had full freedom to practice their religion. They also appear to have been instrumental in bringing about a notable

---

1. Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh, II, p.341; Tabaqāt-i Akbarī, III, p.346; Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, pp.103-4; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, p.130.

2. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.68.

change in the cultural outlook of the ruling family, making them generally tolerant in matters pertaining to religion and prompting them occasionally to participate in cultural functions and festivals of the Hindus. Badāunī, for instance, attributes Akbar's tolerant attitude towards the Hindūs and a tendency on the latter's part to participate in Hindū festivals and rituals to the growing influence of his Rājput wives.[1] Badāunī further holds that Akbar, being influenced by his Hindū wives, prohibited the eating of beef, onions and garlic. At least this practice continued during Jahāngīr's reign.[2] Jahāngīr is known to have hunted wild boars and presented their meat to Rājputs.[3] Even the Mughal ladies showed respects for the cows. There is a nishān of Ḥamīda Bāno Begam dated September 29, 1581, instructing the imperial officials of pargana Mahavan of sarkār Agra for grazing the cows of Bithleshwar. She also instructed that no one molest or disturb the cows from grazing.[4] It would appear that the

---

1. Badāunī holds that Akbar celebrated the hom festival of the Hindūs in compliment to his Hindū wives. In 1581, he prostrated himself before the Sun and the fire in public. Further, he says that when in the evening, the lamp and the candles were lighted in the court, every one had to rise up respectfully. Akbar also celebrated the rākhī festival which was followed by his chiefs and nobles. Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh, II, pp.261-62.

2. Tazkira-i Pīr Hassu Tailī, f.36b, Deptt. of History, Aligarh see also Pelsaert, Jahāngīr's India, p.21.

3. The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, pp.105, 157, 284; Coryat, p.281.

4. S.I. Tirmizi, Edicts from the Mughal Harem, pp.1-5.

tendency to accept Hindū cultural practices manifested itself at an early stage in Akbar's life when he was still under the influence of the *'ulemā*. From a passage in *Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh* one gathers that as early as mid-seventies, Akbar used to put on yellow garments, made of a silken cloth, a Rājput practice was considered repugnant to the rules of *sharī'at* by the orthodox people.[1] Naturally, a taste for such garments would be acquired by Akbar in the company of his Rājput wives. Towards the close of his reign, Akbar had started observing some of the typical Hindū rituals in clear violation of *sharī'at*. It is known on the authority of Abūl Fazl that after Ḥamīda Bāno Begam's death in 1604, Akbar had his head and moustaches shaved after the Rājput custom.[2] Further, it seems that the innate respect of the Mughal rulers for the sentiments and scruples of the others must have acted as an additional factor. In this regard, they were least concerned with the rules of *sharī'at*. For instance, in June 1595, when Rāi Rāi Singh of Bikāner was ill, Akbar asked the Rāi to go on *tirath* (pilgrimage to sacred places of worship).[3] In August 1639, Shāh Jahān granted 200 *bighas* of land in *pargana*

---

1. *Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh*, II, pp.210-11, 306.
2. *Akbar Nāma*, III, pp.830-31; *Iqbāl Nāma-i Jahāngīrī*, p.468.
3. Akbar's *farmān* to Rāja Rāi Singh of Bikāner. See, *A Descriptive List of Farmāns, Manshurs and Nishāns*, p.5.

Baikunthpur for the maintenance of chatrī of deceased mother of Rāja Mān Singh.[1]

From Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, it appears that the Hindū practices established by Akbar, continued to be observed during Jahāngīr's time. The practice that on the occasion of rākhī festival the Hindū nobles would bind on the King's wrist costly 'strings of rubies and royal pearls and flowers jewelled with gems of great value' was discarded for sometime by Jahāngīr on account of the nobles indulging in extravagence. Henceforth, only the Brahmans would be allowed to tie pieces of silk on the King's wrist according to their own custom. But in 1613, Jahāngīr revived the abandoned practice and allowed the Hindu nobles to bind rakhīs on his wrist.[2] There is also available evidence in Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, suggesting that the festival of Dīwālī was celebrated by Jahāngīr in an elaborate manner. In 1614, Dīwālī was celebrated at Jahāngīr's court by having gambling bouts for three consecutive nights.[3] In the same year Dashehra festival was celebrated with the usual decoration of

---

1. Shāh Jahān's farmān to Mirza Rāja Jai Singh. See, A Descriptive List of Farmāns, Nishāns and Manshurs, p.6.

2. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.120.

3. Ibid., p.131.

elephants and horses.[1] In 1659, on the occasion of 'Id-ul Fitr, Aurangzeb presented a khilat to Jaswant Singh.[2]

A close scrutiny of the surviving evidence also suggests that from around 1577, Akbar's Rājput wives started taking an interest in matters of state policy. Rafiuddin Shirāzī says that Akbar, in the influence of one of his Hindū wives, obviously promulgated an order of banning the sale and purchase of slaves. She argued that if slaves were continued to be exported on such a large scale, after sometimes there would be shortage of man-power in the Empire.[3] And the influence of these Rājput wives was exercised against the measures ~~as~~ recommended by the orthodox elements tending to discriminate against the Hindūs. According to Badāuni, in 1577, the Rajput ladies pleaded with Akbar for the release of a Brahman from Mathura, accused of using abusive language against the prophet. After the man was executed by Abd-un Nabī without proper trial, they protested to the king against this arbitrary attitude of the Sadr-us Sudur and instigated/him to take steps against Abd-un Nabī.[4] If one is to believe Badāuni, this episode was one of

---

1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.123.
2. 'Ālamgir Nāma, pp.404-05. Rieu, I, p.231; Rāja Jaswant Singh and Rāja Jai Singh both were given an elephant each on the occasion of 'Id in the 12th R.Y. Lāhorī, II, p.144.
3. Tazkirat-ul Mulūk, MS. ff.231b-232a, cited in the Tazkirat-ul Mulūk by Rafiuddīn Shirāzī: As a source on the history of Akbar's reign by I.A. Khan, Studies in History, Vol. I, 1980, p.45.
4. Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh, III, pp.80-82.

the prime factors contributing to the latter's fall in the estimate of the King.

Similar instances of the Rājput wives of the King taking part in high politics and trying to influence the course of events according to their own judgment or inclinations can be cited from Jahāngir's reign. It is known that Jahāngir's first Kachawaha wife, intervened over the issue of succession after Akbar's death. She disagreed with her relatives who were sponsoring Khusrau's candidature and tried to dissuade her son from claiming the throne against his father. According to Jahāngīr, "she constantly wrote to Khusrau and urged him to be sincere and affectionate to him". Being frustrated in these efforts, she committed suicide.[1] Similarly, in 1613, on the occasion of the festival of Dashehra, Jahāngīr's wives pleaded for Khusrau's release from prison and succeeded in securing a pardon for the Prince.[2]

On the other hand, ladies belonging to the imperial harem, Rājput princesses as well as others, occasionally entered into correspondence with the Rājput chieftains seeking to influenc them politically. In 1627, Shāh Jahān's Rāthor wife went to

1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.26; W. Finch, Purchas his Pilgrimage, IV, p.68; Tārīkh-i Dilkusha, MS. f.377a.

2. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.123.

Jodhpur and stayed there for eight days canvassing support among her relatives for her husband's claim to the throne against other contenders.[1] Available evidence indicates that Shāh Jahān's favourite daughter Jahān Āra Begam (entitled Begam Sāhiba) maintained occasional correspondence with Mirza Rāja Jai Singh regarding political/and administrative matters. In 1640, she sent a letter to Jai Singh for the verification of Hem Singh's claim of being a real son of Rāja Chatr Sāl.[2] Apparently, she sought this verification from Jai Singh as she was approached by Hem Singh for a recommendation for the grant of a mansab to him. There is available yet another letter addressed to Jai Singh dated September 1651, commending his service in suppressing the Mewātī rebels in pargana Kāmān and Pahārī and asking him to come to the court so that he may be sent to lead an expedition against Qandhār.[3] During the war of succession, in 1658, Nādira Bāno Begam, wife of Dāra Shukoh, urging upon Jai Singh to devote himself fully to the operations against Shuja.[4] In October 1654,

---

1. Mārwār-re-Pargana-rī Vigat, I, p.111.

2. Jahān Āra's nishān to Mirza Rāja Jai Singh, N.184, preserved in Rājasthān State Archives, Bikāner. Jahān Āra Begam was entitled as Begum Sāhiba. Bernier, Early Travels in the Mogul Empire, p.5.

3. Jahān Āra's nishān to Mirza Rāja Jai Singh, N.201. See, A Descriptive List of Farmāns, Nishāns and Manshurs, pp.32, 43. For similar correspondence between Jahān Āra and Rāja Budh Prakāsh of Sirmur, see Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, VII, 1911, pp.447-58.

4. Nādira Bāno's nishān to Mirza Rāja Jai Singh, N.231, preserved in Rājasthān State Archives, Bikāner. cf. Qanungo, Dara Shikoh, p.167

Dāra Shukoh congratulated Mirza Rāja Jai Singh on the birth of the latter's grandson and wished to be Mirza's guest on his way to Āmber.[1]

As a matter of fact the blood ties created by the matrimonial alliances between the Mughal ruling family and the Rājput clans were attached great importance by both the sides. Sometimes, the members of the royal family would not feel averse to seeking help from their Rājput relatives in their mutual disputes. We know at least one such episode from Jahāngīr's reign which relates to Khurram's revolt, during 1621 to 1627. In April 1626, Khurram sent a letter to Jai Singh addressing him as khālu wherein he had asked the Rāja to help him against his father.[2] There exists ample evidences showing that the ties between the Mughal ruling family and the Rājput clans tended to raise the latter almost to the position of the members of the ruling family which distinguished them even from ordinary Rājput nobles. It is known on the authority of Bānke Dās that after Hamīda Bāno Begam's death in 1604, all the Rājput nobles except Rāo Bhoj Hāra and Rāo Durga Chandrāvat who were not

---

1. A Descriptive List of Farmāns, Nishāns and Manshurs, p.33.

2. Khurram's letter to Jai Singh, No.169. Preserved in the Rājasthān State Archives, Bikāner.

related to ruling family, had their heads shaved,[1] which is the customary Hindū practice of condoling the death of an elderly relative. On the other hand, we know in imitation of Hindū custom of celebration of Death Anniversary, Jahāngīr is known to have celebrated the death anniversary of Akbar in 1613, which was against the tenets of Islām.[2]

From all indications, it is evident that the Rājput wives and their relatives used to have considerable influence over the Mughal Emperors. The Rājput ladies related to the royal family in different capacities were treated with exceptional honour and much confidence was reposed in them. Jahāngīr was particularly attached to his Kachawāha wife, daughter of Bhagwant Dās, referred to above. She, on her part, had such a great affection for Jahāngīr's person that she would be prepared to sacrifice her relations with her own brother as well as son, if it came to a choice between them and her husband. According to Jahāngīr, it was on account of her great shock over the misconduct of her brother Mādho Singh that she committed suicide in 1605. Jahāngīr, it is reported in the Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, did not take food and water for four days after her death.[3] Again,

1. Bānke Dās ri Khyāt, p.145.
2. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, tr. I, pp.246-7.
3. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.26.

it was an indication of the considerable prestige enjoyed by the Rājput ladies related to the royal family that in 1572, Dāniyāl born of a concubine,[1] was given into the care of Akbar's Kachawāha mother-in-law, Bhār Mal's wife.[2]

Akbar considered the Rājput chiefs so faithful that he assigned the charge of surveillance of the Royal Ḥarem to them. Among the Rājputs, Kachawahās were the favourites of Akbar for this job. Rām Dās Udāwat and Rāisal Darbārī were entrusted with the charge of looking after the ḥarem.[3] The Rājput chiefs were also relied for guarding the <u>chaukī</u> where the Mughal Emperors

---

1. <u>Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī</u>, p.15.

2. <u>Akbar Nāma</u>, II, p.373. Sujān Rāi Bhandārī (<u>Khulāsat-ut Tawārīkh</u>, p.374) informs us that Jahāngīr was born of Bhār Mal's daughter. But this appears rather improbable and near contemporary authorities. Secondly, the manner in which Jahāngīr's upbringing is recorded in <u>Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī</u> (pp.40-41) suggests that soon after he was born, he was given in the care of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī's daughter. If the mother of the baby had been a Kachawāha lady, as suggested by Sujān Rāi, there is no reason, why the chroniclers would not have indicated it. It would also look extraordinary that in such a case, the new born baby (Dāniyāl) would have been separated from his mother and given in the care of another lady. If Akbar could trust his Kachawāha mother-in-law, Bhār Mal's wife, in the case of Dāniyāl, why would he not similarly show trust for a child who was related to her more closely. Lastly, if Jahāngīr's mother had been a Kachawāha lady, the Jesuits of Jahāngīr's reign would not have been highlighted only the fact of Khusrau's having been born of a Hindū woman. See, <u>Jahangir & Jesuits</u>, tr., C.H. Payne, p.111.

3. <u>Āīn-i Akbarī</u>, I, p.40; <u>Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn</u>, MS. #.110; <u>Ma'āsir-ul Umarā</u>, II, pp.331-32.

used to encamp in the course of their journey. In 1596-97, Rāgho Dās Kachawāha is known to have guarded the chaukī of Akbar in Punjāb.[1] Similarly, in 1606-07, Kesho Dās Māru Rāthor was appointed to guard the chaukī of Jahāngīr.[2]

It would be wrong to suppose that after Rājput princesses were taken into marriages by the Mughal Emperors, all contacts were stopped between them and their parents.[3] As a matter of fact, these marriages promoted more frequent and closer social inter-course between the Mughal ruling family and their Rājput-in-laws. There are ample evidences to show that the Rājput wives of the Mughal rulers would occasionally visit their parents and relatives. It is recorded in Akbar Nāma that in 1573, Akbar's Kachawāha wife visited Āmber to condole with her parents over the death of their son, Bhupat, killed during Gujarāt campaign.[4] According to a Rājput chronicle, in 1627, Shāh Jahān sent his Rāthor wife to Jodhpur to influence her relatives to support him against other contenders for the throne.[5]

---

1. B.N. Goswamy and J.S. Grewal, The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar, p.61.
2. Ibid., p.85.
3. M.L. Roychaudhury assumes that the Hindū wives of the Muslims were all dead to the family of their fathers and the social inter-course between the Rājput nobles and their daughters came to about after marrying their daughters to the Muslims. The Din-i Ilahi, p.143.
4. Akbar Nāma, III, pp.15, 34.
5. Mārwār-re-Pargana-rē-Vigat, I, p.111.

At times the Mughal Emperors would personally visit their Rājput-in-laws on the occasion of death and marriages. In 1594, Prince Salīm went to Āmber to condole with his brother-in-law, Mān Singh, on the demise of Bhagwant Dās, who had died in 1589.[1] In August 1601, when Rām Dās's son Din Min Dās died, Akbar went to the house of Rām Dās to condole with him.[2] In May 1638, when Gaj Singh expired, Prince Murād went to the house of Jaswant Singh to condole with him.[3] When Rāja Gaj Singh of Jodhpur was on death-bed, Shāh Jahān went to see him at his house.[4] The Mughal Emperors also used to visit their Rājput-in-laws on the occasions of marriages and such other ceremonies in the family. In 1569, after the fall of Ranthambor, Akbar visited Bhagwān Dās's quarter and participated in a feast.[5] In 1601, Akbar personally went to the house of Rām Dās on the occasion of the marriage of the latter's daughter with Shyām Singh

---

1. Akbar Nāma, III, pp.648-49.

2. Ibid., pp.788-9; Iqbāl Nāma-i Jahāngīrī, p.415; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, p.157.

3. Rieu, History of Marwar (Hindi), Jodhpur, 1938, I, p.210; when in 1667-8, Rāo Karan of Bikāner died, Prince Mu'azzam condoled with his sons Padam Singh and Mohan Singh, Nuskha-i Dilkusha, f.37a. In 992 A.H., Akbar personally visited Sānwal Dās Jādon when he fell ill seriously. Akbar Nāma, III, p.434.

4. Nuskha-i Dilkusha, f.64b.

5. Akbar Nāma, III, p.339.

and presented to the couple five lakh _dāms_.[1] According to Muhta Nainsī, Akbar had taken personal interest in arranging the match of Durjan Singh Shaikhāwat's daughter with Sur Singh Rāthor of Jodhpur.[2] In October 1654, Prince Dāra Shukoh conveyed his congratulations to Mirza Rāja Jai Singh on the birth of his grandson.[3]

It would appear that this climate of cordiality and close social bonds between the Mughal rulers and their Rājput-in-laws, particularly the Kachawāhas and the Rāthors, was not disturbed in any significant manner down to Shāh Jahān's reign. It is known that when Jaswant Singh married Biram Dev Sisodia's daughter in 1655, Shāh Jahān made a present of ten thousand rupees to the couple.[4] One may thus conclude that during Jahāngīr's reign, this kind of social contacts between the ruling family and the Kachawāha and the Rāthor clans were maintained in the same manner as under Akbar. Apparently, these were considered routine matters and therefore, were not reported in the chronicles. It is possible that sometime after Jahāngīr's

---

1. _Akbar Nāma_, III, p.799;
2. _Muhta Nainsī-re-Khyāt_, I, p.325.
3. _Descriptive List of Farmāns, Manshurs and Nishāns_, p.33.
4. Wāris, _Pādshāh Nāma_, p.298.

accession these contacts were temporarily interrupted owing to his estranged relations with Mān Singh resulting from the latter's support of Khusrau's candidature on the issue of succession. However, it is known on good authority that the Kachawāha chiefs were rehabilitated in Jahāngīr's favour after 1608 and close social contact between the royal family and the family of Kachawāha chiefs were fully resumed.

One interesting aspect of the consequences that flowed from the matrimonial alliances and consequential close contacts at a social and cultural level between the Mughal ruling family and various Rājput clans was the setting in motion of a process of limited kind of Islāmization among the Rājput clans enrolled in the Mughal service. This process manifested itself mainly in the form of growing interest particularly among the Kachawāhas in the Persian language and their involvement in the literary and cultural tradition handed down through the medium of Persian language. Among the Kachawāhas in Jahāngīr's service, Rāo Manohar Shaikhāwat (pen name Tausanī) was regarded as a distinguished Persian poet.[1] Badāunī while praising Tausanī's 'intellectual power' remarks, "since a Hindū had so much poetic genius and ecstatic feeling, I have recorded these verses".[2] Even

1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.8.

2. Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh, III, pp.201-202.

Jahāngīr who had a rather dim view of the intellectual powers of the members of the Kachawāha clan acknowledges Rāo Manohar's proficiency in Persian language and goes on to remark that he was not 'without intelligence'.[1]

It seems the impact of Islāmic tradition on Rao Manohar's family was quite considerable[2] which must have been partly the consequence of their acquaintance with the Persian literature. As a youth Rāo Manohar was called Muḥammad Manohar by his family members.[3] Later on, after he came under Akbar's influence, he seems to have dropped 'Muḥammad' from his name and came to be addressed as Mirzā Manohar.[4]

Mirzā Manohar's surviving Persian verses shed interesting light on the cultural outlook of the sections of the Kachawāha nobility that have already been exposed to one or the other degree to the influence of Islāmic tradition in

---

1. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p.8.

2. It is said that during the 14th century, Mokal, the ancestor of Rāo Manohar had no issue. He became a father through the blessings of Shaikh Burhān. Thus he named his son as Shaikhjī. Therefore, he became patriarch of the Shaikhāwat branch. According to the Shaikh's preaching, the Shaikhāwats do not eat pork and all meat in which blood remains. Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, MS. f.110; Bānke Dās re Khyāt, p.130; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, 170-72.

3. Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh, III, pp.201-2. Badāunī says that Akbar prohibited to name by the names of Prophet such as Muḥammad, Aḥmad and Mustafa in 1582; Ibid., II, p.314.

4. Ibid., III, pp.201-2.

India. His poetry permeates with a monotheistic approach and in harmony with intellectual attitude then current in Hindūstān, tends to conform to the philosophy of <u>sulh-i kul</u>. He goes out of his way in ridiculing and decrying the dogmatic attitudes.[1] This kind of non-dogmatic and sympathetic attitude towards Islām religion and its followers was also the hall-mark of the attitude of many other Kachawāha nobles serving under Jahāngīr. For instance, Mān Singh, who had refused to be enrolled as Akbar's <u>murīd</u> so bluntly[2] is credited with building the <u>jāma</u>

---

1. The following are the verses of Manohar:

(۱) شیخ سنعتی بدین و برهمن مغرور ز کفر
معنی حسن دوست را ما کفر و ایمان کار نیست

(۲) بی عشق تو در جگر لباب بار است
بی درد تو در مرهم سینه ایمن خار است

(۳) بتخانه و کعبه هردو نزد ما کفر است
ما را به یگانگی این کار است

(۴) بیگانه بودن و یکتا شدن ز چشم احول
سر هر دو چشم جدا و جدای گر نزد

(۵) زاهد کعبه پرستی و ما دوست پرست
تو ماین محفل مسلمانی و ما برهمنیم

(۶) اگر ایمان همین کعبه پرستیست
پرستاران بت را طعنه از چیست

(۷) چه کفر چه اسلام در کوی دوست بس در که رو آورم سوی است

For references, see <u>Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh</u>, III, pp.201-2; <u>Ma'āsir-i Rahīmī</u>, I, pp.255-56; <u>Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn</u>, I, p.220; <u>Dabistān-i Mazāhib</u>, p.152; <u>Ma'āsir-ul Umarā'</u>, II, p.117. For more couplets, see <u>Mirāt-ul 'Ālam</u>, I, p.556.

2. <u>Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh</u>, II, pp.315, 364.

masjids of Lāhore[1] and Rāj Mahal.[2] Mān Singh is also known to have given a madad-i ma'āsh grant of 14 bighas of land in pargana Hājīpur from his jāgīr for the maintenance of the tomb of a Muslim saint.[3] On the other hand the Rājput chiefs also brought with them the Hindī poets. Suraj Singh brought a poet from the Chāran community and introduced him to Jahāngir. The latter liked his poetry and presented an elephant to him.[4] Mirzā ʿAbdur Rahīm is known to have been well-versed in Hindī and Sanskrit. He used to compose poems in Hindī.[5] Further, it is known from the Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn that Mān Singh provided liberal facilities to his Muslim retainers for observing their religious duties.[6] But this did not mean that Mān Singh and his fellow Kachawāha chiefs were no longer Hindūs. On the contrary, there is evidence showing that they looked with disapproval on any suggestion that they should accept Islām. They would go to the extent of even ridiculing a person making such a proposal. When

---

1. Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, I, pp.107-8. Baini Prasad, the annotator of Maʾāsir-ul Umarā (I, p.405, f.n.3) incorrectly says that the mosque was built by Aurangzeb.

2. Ancient Monuments of Bengal, pp.460-61.

3. Madad-i Ma'āsh grant. For text, see R.N. Prasad, Raja Man Singh of Amber, p.172.

4. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, tr. I, pp.140-41.

5. Vīr Vinod, p.231.

6. Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, I, p.107.

Shāh Daulat, a Muslim saint, asked the Rāja to accept Islām, he ironically replied that it was not in his power to do so, unless the seal put on his heart is removed, and therefore, the saint should first pray to God to remove this seal and make him inclined towards Islām, and only then he could accept Islām.[1]

The Kachawāha nobles had close friendly relations with the high nobles of Tūrānī as well as Irānī origin. For instance, Mān Singh was particularly close to 'Abdur Rahīm Khān-i Khānān, an Irānī by origin. According to Farid Bhakkarī, the sons of 'Abdur Rahīm Khān-i Khanān used to address Mān Singh as dādājī. While the latter on his part used to pay them some kind of pocket money allowance regularly.[2] It is known that when Khān-i Khānan got victory over Pindāra in Deccan, there he got an icon of four armed Vishnu which he presented to Rāja Suraj Singh.[3] Similarly, Mān Singh was very close to 'Azīz Koka, the senior most Tūrānī noble of the realm. As already noticed, both of them were a party to the move of a section of the nobility to place Khusrau on the throne after Akbar. After Jahāngīr's

1. Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, I, pp.108-9; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.69-70.

2. Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, I, pp.107-10.

3. Rieu, I, p.196. This icon is known to have been preserved in Jodhpur Fort.

accession, When Mān Singh was planning to withdraw to Bengāl, 'Azīz Koka had sent his family members to the Rāja's residence at Āgra so that they might accompany him.[1] When Rām Dās was on military expeditions in the Deccan, he hosted a dinner to 'Abdullah Khān and other nobles.[2]

Mahābat Khān who had Rājput retainers in large number in his contingent had established very close relations with them. When he gave his daughter in marriage to Khwāja Naqshbandī, Jahāngīr objected and sent some nobles to bring Mahābat Khān's daughter to the court. Mahābat Khān became much perturbed. But when the Rājputs came to know the fact, they assured him that at any cost his daughter, whom they considered their daughter too, would not be allowed to be taken from them until their death.[3] Mahābat Khān's closeness with the Rājputs is also borne out by a number of cases in which he recommended to assign mansabs to Rājput chiefs. On the recommendation of Mahābat Khān, Jahāngīr assigned mansabs to Pratāp Singh Chauhān and his brother Kishan Singh Chauhān.[4] Similarly, at the time of his father's

---

1. Darbār-i Akbarī (Hindi), p.124.
2. Dutch Chronicle of Mughal India, p.62.
3. Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, II, pp.133-34.
4. Ibid., p.115.

death, Rão Karan of Bikaner was minor but on Mahābat Khān's recommendation, he was taken into the imperial service.[1] In 1634, when Mahābat Khān died, the Rājputs brought his corpse from Burhānpur to Delhi.[2] Further, one knows that when camp of Prince Azam's wife was surrounded by the Marāthās, the Hārās offered their lives in defence of her camp by exclaiming that "the honour of the Chaghtāis is one with the honour of the Rājputs".[3]

On the occasion of the festival of holī, Bahādur Khān used to visit his Rājput friends. In 1672, on holī festival, Bahādur Khān, who was in Deccan, visited the houses of Rāja Subhān Singh, Rāo Rāi Singh Rāthor, Rāja Anup Singh Rāthor and Muhkam Singh Chandrāwat. His sons Mīr Aḥsan and Mīr Moḥsin used to pray with the Rājputs.[4]

After Jaswant Singh's death, his two wives Rānī Jādemdi and Rānī Kachawahī gave birth to two sons in Lāhore. At the birth ceremony, a number of Muslim nobles were invited to attend the function. They offered presents. Sarbuland Khān,

---

1. Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, II, p.399.
2. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II (tr.), p.27.
3. Akhbarat, cited by J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. IV, p.302.
4. Bhimsen, Nuskha-i Dilkusha, f.62b.

Kābulī Khān, Asad Khān and Ināyat Khān made presents of Rs.50,000 Rs.40,000, Rs.25,000 and Rs.20,000 respectively.[1] Subsequently, when the message of the birth of the two princes reached Jodhpur Nawāb Khān-i Jahān Bahādur Khān and Ṭāhir Beg faujdār went to congratulate to Rānī Deorī, a widow of Jaswant Singh. She felicitated Nawāb Bahādur Khān and Ṭāhir Beg with the presents of mohars and studded turbans.[2] Khān-i Jahān Bahādur Khān looked upon Jaswant Singh as his brother. Therefore, after Jaswant Singh's death, he was also in favour of Ajit Singh's succession. He was against the policy of Aurangzeb for destroying temples.[3] Even he argued with Aurangzeb for the succession of Ajit Singh. For this he paid heavy price of being deprived of mansab and personal effects.[4]

---

1. Hukumat-re-Bahī, pp.94-95. Others who made presents were Darab Khān (Rs.2,000), Nihal Beg (Rs.200) and a certain qazi (Rs.7,000).
2. Ibid., p.98.
3. Ibid., p.99.
4. Ishwar Dās, Futuhāt-i ʿĀlamgiri, MS., f.74b.

## Chapter VIII

## RĀJPUT CHIEFS IN THE WAR OF SUCCESSION

Athar Ali has established beyond any reasonable doubt that the war of succession was not a fight among the different religious groups. The groups of nobles who participated in the struggle in favour of the contending Princes for the throne cut across the religious and racial barriers. From Athar Ali's list of mansabdārs of 1000 zāt and above, who supported the Mughal Princes, it is evident that even the Rājput nobles individually sided with the rival Mughal Princes according to their own interests or choice.[1] However, in this chapter, first we shall examine, who among the Rājput chiefs supported Dāra Shukoh and Aurangzeb and what was the attitude of these Princes towards the Rājput nobles? Secondly, what were the reasons which prompted different Rājput nobles to side with the contending Princes?

At the time of Shāh Jahān's critical illness in September 1657 and later on the rumour of his death prompted Prince Shāh Shuja, who was in Bengal, set out for Agra in hope of

1. M. Athar Ali, 'Religious issue in the War of Succession', Medieval India Quarterly, Vol. V, 1963.

getting succession. This was greatly resented by Shāh Jahān who immediately sent Sulaiman Shukoh with Mirzā Rāja Jai Singh and Anirudh Singh Gaur to check Prince Shuja. At this time, Mirza Raja was promoted to 6000/6000 with 5000 do aspa sih aspa,[1] and Anirudh Singh was raised to 3500/3000 with do aspa sih aspa.[2]

Furthermore, all commanders including the Rājputs, who had been sent from the Imperial Court to the Deccan to serve with Aurangzeb were recalled. In accordance with the order, Shatrusāl Hāda, Mahābat Khān and Najābat Khān were the first to move to Agra. Others who followed Shatrusāl and Mahābat Khān included Debī Singh Bundela, Sujān Singh Bundela, Amar Singh Chandrawat and Rām Singh Kachawaha,[3] Rāja Karan Singh of Bikaner, leaving behind his two sons Kesrī Singh and Pem Singh with Aurangzeb, made his way to his watan Bikaner.[4] Afterwards, throughout the war of succession Karan Singh stayed at Bikaner, which suggests that he adopted an indifferent attitude towards the struggle. But unlike other chieftains, even after Aurangzeb's

---

1. 'Amal-i Sālih, III, p.277.
2. Ibid., p.278; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.276-77.
3. Waqi'āt-i 'Ālamgīrī, p.21.
4. Ma'āsir-i 'Ālamgīrī, p.32; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.287-90.

accession, he continued to stay within his chiefdom prompting Aurangzeb to order an expedition in August 1660 under the command of Amīr Khān Khawāfī.[1] If one goes to the background of Karan's attitude, would find that in 1654, when Prince Aurangzeb went to Deccan, Karan's *mansab* was curtailed.[2] Further, in 1655, when the Prince made a *tajwīz* to raise Karan's *mansab*, Shāh Jahān turned it down.[3] This must have displeased the Rāo, though it is not clear why he should have become unsympathetic to Aurangzeb, who had recommended his promotion.

As Murad revolted in Gujarāt and Aurangzeb made preparations to join him, steps had to be taken by the Imperial Court to counter any moves they might make. To block the possible route of Rājputana, Dāra Shukoh who was with Shāh Jahān in Agra contacted Akhey Rāj Deora of Sirohi and Rāna Raj Singh of Mewar. Dara Shukoh in his *nishān* dated 4th October 1657 instructed Rāo Akhey Rāj to adopt every possible measures to prevent Aurangzeb and Murad from entering his territory. The Rāo was

---

1. *Ma'āsir-i Ālamgīrī*, p.32; *Ma'āsir-ul Umarā*, II, pp.287-90.

2. This has been pointed out by Prince Aurangzeb in his letter to Mirzā Rāja Jai Singh. The *nishan* is preserved in Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, S.N.221, old N.65; see also, *Ma'āsir-ul Umarā*, II, pp.287-90.

3. *Ādāb-i Ālamgīrī*, MS. ff.37b, 38a; *Ruqqāt-i Ālamgīrī*, pp.114-15.

also asked that if he required assistance, he could get from Jālore where Rāja Jaswant Singh's forces were stationed. Eventually, Akhey Rāj was warned of the disastrous results if joined Prince Murād.[1] In February 1658, Dāra Shukoh also wrote to Rāna Rāj Singh of Mewar for assistance. He asked the Rāna that either he should send two thousand troopers or he should join the imperial force personally against Aurangzeb.[2]

On the other hand, Aurangzeb sent a khilāt and jewelled ring to the Rana and solicited his support. Aurangzeb also promised the Rāna to restore all the territories annexed from Mewar in 1654 as a punishment for his fortification of Chittor.[3] Further, Aurangzeb in his nishān assured the Rāna that he would follow the religious policy of his ancestors, declaring that "a king who practises intolerance toward the religion of another is a rebel against God".[4]

Meanwhile, on 14th February 1658, the forces of Sulaiman Shukoh and Prince Shuja met at Bahādurpur near Benares;

---

1. For Dāra Shukoh's nishān to Rao Akhey Rāj of Sirohi, see Vir Vinod, pp.1106-7.

2. For Dāra Shukoh's nishān to Rāna Rāj Singh, see Vir Vinod, pp.432-35.

3. For Aurangzeb's nishān to Rāna Rāj Singh, see Vir Vinod, pp.423-26.

4. Aurangzeb's nishān to Rāna Rāj Singh, reproduced in Vir Vinod, II, pp.419-20.

Shujā was defeated and fled towards Bengāl. On the way, Rāja Gopāl Ujjainya, who had been granted the mansab of 1000/800[1] recently, plundered the forces of Shujā. In reward, the booty obtained by him was left to him.[2] Shāh Jahān also congratulated Jai Singh and in reward his mansab was raised to 7000/6000 with 5000 do aspa sīh aspa.[3]

In order to meet the threat from Murād and Aurangzeb, Shāh Jahān appointed Rāja Jaswant Singh with a number of Rājput nobles to assume charge of Mālwa. The Rāja was promoted to 7000/7000 + 6000 do aspa sih aspa with the title of Mahārāja.[4] In the Hukumat-re-Bahi, we find the list of mansabdārs who were attached with Jaswant Singh for Mālwa. From this list, it is evident that 75 Rājput nobles were despatched with the Mahārāja. Most of these were Rāthors, being 13 in number and holding the mansab of 17,450/19.930. Sisodias were next with total mansab of 13,600/7,550. The third and fourth were the Hādas and Gaurs

---

1. This was mentioned in Prince Dāra Shukoh's nishān to Mirzā Rāja Jai Singh. The nishān is preserved in Rājasthān State Archives, Bikāner, S.N.232, Old N.86.

2. This was pointed ou-t in Prince Dāra Shukoh's nishān to Rāo Akhay Rāj of Sirohī; op. cit.

3. 'Amal-i Sālih, III, p.279; In Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.575-77 at this time, his mansab is mentioned as 7000/7000 with 5000 do aspa sīh aspa.

4. 'Amal-i Sālih, III, p.285; Ma'āsir-i 'Ālamgīrī, pp.3-4; Hukumat-re-Bahī, p.3.

with mansabs of 9,300/7,040 and 9,200/5,405 respectively. Six Bundela and eight Kachawāha nobles carrying the mansabs of 5,750/5,750 and 4,850/3,650 were also included. Among other clans there were 5 Chandrāwats, 6 Jhālas and 7 Chauhāns with total mansab of 2,900/1,445, 2,700/1,130 and 2,200/1,505 respectively. There was one each from Ghelot, Bhadūrīya and Tunwar clans, holding the mansabs of 1000/1,200, 1000/800 and 1000/500.[1] After reaching Mālwa, Siv Rām Gaur was appointed the qil'adār of the fort of Māndu.[2]

On the other hand, the Rājput nobles Subh Karan Bundela, Bhagwant Singh Hāda, Manohar Dās Hāda, Karan Khichī, Rāja Sārangdhar, Raghu Nath Singh Rāthor and Indraman Dhandhera accompanied Aurangzeb to the North.[3] Here, it is noteworthy that some of the Rājput chiefs who sided with Aurangzeb might have had cause for animosity against Shāh Jahān or they were of the minor position. For instance, Shāh Jahān had taken away the zamīndārī of Dhandhera from Indraman and conferred it

1. See the list, attached to the end of this Chapter.
2. 'Ālamgīr Nāma, pp.95, 102; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, p.265.
3. 'Ālamgīr Nāma, pp.62-63; Mirāt-ul 'Ālam, I, p.25; Bhim Sen, Nuskha-i Dilkushā, tr. p.17.

upon Siv Rām Gaur.[1] Moreover, Indraman had been arrested and imprisoned in the fort of Junair.[2] When Aurangzeb started for the north, he released him and awarded him the mansab of 3000/2000.[3] Subh Karan Bundela because of Aurangzeb's personal invitation came and joined his service. He was granted the mansab of 1000 zāt.[4] Rāja Sārangdhar held a minor position in the Mughal hierarchy. He held the mansab of 700/500.[5] In absence of information regarding the mansabs of the other nobles in the sources one may safely presume that they had previously held mansabs lower than 500 zāt. Apparently, no very high Rājput noble initially supported Aurangzeb,[6] while two high Muslim nobles Najābat Khān (5000/5000) and Zulfiqār Khān (4000/2000) sided with Aurangzeb.[7]

Champat Bundela, who had rebelled against Shāh Jahān, was persuaded by Subh Karan to take Aurangzeb's service.[8] Subse-

---

1. Lāhorī, I/ii, pp.241-42, 250; II/i, p.8; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.265-66.
2. 'Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīrī, MS., f.99; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.265-66.
3. Ibid.
4. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.317-20.
5. Bhim Sen, Nuskha-i Dilkushā, p.20.
6. Athar Ali in his list of mansabdārs, who supported Aurangzeb, has shown that Bhagwant Singh Hāda held the mansab of 2500/800. Actually, Bhagwant Singh seems to have been given this mansab after the battle of Samungarh. Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, pp.121-130; 'Ālamgīrnāma, p.190.
7. 'Ālamgīr Nāma, pp.29-30; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.81-93; III, pp.823-28.
8. Bhim Sen, Nuskha-i Dilkushā, p.20.

quently, Champat helped Aurangzeb to cross the river Chambal from an unknown little ford.[1] In reward Aurangzeb assigned him the *mansab* of 5000 *zat*.[2]

Before the battle of Dharmat, Dara Shukoh in his *nishan*, dated 11th April 1658, again instructed Rao Akhey Raj of Sirohi for not allowing Prince Murad to enter his territory. He was told that any booty seized by him from Murad, would be awarded to him.[3] However, Murad did not take the road to Ajmer at all, but joined Aurangzeb for a dash into Malwa.

Eventually, on 15th April 1659, the battle of Dharmat was fought in which Jaswant Singh was defeated; a number of Rajput nobles under him were killed. Prominent among them were Sujan Singh Sisodia, Ballu Chauhan, Mukund Singh Hada,[4] Mohan Singh Kanha, Jujhar Singh Hada[5], Dayal Das Jhala, Arjun Gaur,

---

1. Bernier, p.43; *Chatr Prakash*, tr. by W.R. Pogson under the title of *A History of the Boondelas*, pp.32-33.
2. Bhimsen, f.16a; Bernier, p.43. But in *Alamgir Nama* (p.78), his *mansab* is mentioned as 1000/500. It is exaggerated in *Chatra Prakash*: "When Aurangzeb ascended the throne, he distinguished Raja Champat with great honours, granted him a *mansab*, or command, of twelve thousand men, and a *jagir* free of revenue, from Oorcha to Mulkunaru, and thence to the Jumna". *A History of the Boondelas*, p.34.
3. For Dara Shukoh's *nishan* to Rao Akhey Raj, see *Vir Vinod*, pp.1109-10.
4. *Alamgir Nama*, p.66; *Nuskha-i Dilkusha*, tr. p.19; *Hukumat-re Rahi*, p.19.
5. *Amal-i Salih*, III, p.287; *Vir Vinod*, p.1410; *Hukumat-re-Rahi*, p.19.

Rāo Ratan and Goverdhan Rāthor[1]. After this discomfiture, Rāja Jaswant Singh fled to Jodhpur.[2] Similarly, Amar Singh Chandrāwat,[3] Rāja Rāi Singh Sisodia, Rāja Sujān Singh Bundela fled to their home principalities.[4]

Debi Singh Bundela and Amar Singh Narwarī who were with Jaswant Singh now defeated to Murād and Aurangzeb respectively.[5] Saun Singh, chief of Kālībhit and ʿĀlam Singh Gaur, chief of Gunnur also submitted to Aurangzeb.[6] We can here see that the chiefs, whose _watans_, situated around the vicinity of the route from Dharmat to Āgra, were forced by circumstances to join the victorious Prince Aurangzeb. But in the case of ~~MMM~~ ʿĀlam Singh Gaur, additional factor moved him to join Aurangzeb. ʿĀlam Singh had been antagonised by Shāh Jahān who had wrested the fort of Gunnur from his predecessor and assigned it to Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ.[7] Any way this exodus of the Rājput nobles was

---

1. _ʿĀlamgīr Nāma_, pp.66, 70; _Vachnika_, p.93.
2. _Ma'āsir-i ʿĀlamgīrī_, p.5.
3. _ʿĀlamgīr Nāma_, pp.70-71; _Ma'āsir-ul Umarā_, II, pp.146-48; _Vīr Vinod_, 986-87.
4. _ʿĀlamgīr Nāma_, pp.70-72; _Mirāt-ul ʿĀlam_, p.31; _Ma'āsir-ul Umarā_, II, pp.297-301, 292-94.
5. _Ma'āsir-ul Umarā_, II, pp.295-97; _ʿĀlamgīr Nāma_, p.77.
6. _Ibid._
7. Lāherī, I, pp.370-71.

not unique in the sense that at the same time, nobles belonging to other sections of the nobility also defected to the victorious Prince. One can enumerate the cases of Nasiri Khan, Diler Khan Afghan, Mukhlis Khan and Saifuddin Mahmud who now joined Aurangzeb.[1] They were awarded high *mansabs* and lofty titles by Aurangzeb.[2]

Both the Princes Dara Shukoh and Aurangzeb started preparations for the next battle. Shah Jahan in his *farman* dated April 25th, 1658, apprised Mirza Raja Jai Singh of the defeat of Jaswant Singh in the battle of Dharmat; the Mirza Raja was asked to join Dara Shukoh in the ensuing struggle.[3] But it seems that Jai Singh remained busy with Sulaiman Shukoh in pursuing Prince Shuja. There, Jai Singh distinguished himself in subduing the fort of Monghyr.[4] Consequently, Bahraj, *zamindar* of Monghyr deserted Prince Shuja and joined the imperial forces in pursuing the fleeing Shuja.[5] Again, Mirza Raja Jai

---

1. *Alamgir Nama*, p.78; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II, pp.42-46. Besides, Masud Yadgar, Muhammad Muqim and Shah Nawaz Khan Safavi defected to Aurangzeb. *Alamgir Nama*, pp.52, 78.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Shah Jahan's *farman* to Jai Singh, Old No.109; *A Descriptive List of Farmans, Nishans and Manshurs*, p.14.
4. Shah Jahan's *farman* to Jai Singh, dated 9th May, 1658. *A Descriptive List of Farmans, Nishans and Manshurs*, p.15.
5. *Waqiat-i Alamgiri*, p.123.

Singh along with Sulaiman Shukoh was summoned to Agra but the Raja seems to have been tardy in compliance with the imperial order. Therefore, now Shah Jahan in a complaining tone stressed the necessity of his presence in the ensuing battle with Aurangzeb.[1]

If one goes to the background to search out the causes behind the Mirza Raja's lack of enthusiasm towards Dara Shukoh, one would find that in the third campaign of Qandhar (1653 AD), the relation between them had become greatly strained. Dara Shukoh asked the Raja to make an assault on the fort of Qandhar, but he refused with the plea, "we Rajputs are not very clever in digging trenches and siege work. Better let the Prince hand over this battery to whomsoever he pleases". Upon further persuasion by the Prince, Jai Singh categoraically replied, "The assault cannot be made by me. Your Royal Highness may inflict any punishment for this fault of mine. I have no more business with Qandhar".[2] Moreover, it seems that Jai Singh

---

1. Shah Jahan's farman to Jai Singh, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, eld n.122, s.n.96.

2. Lataif-ul Akhbar, 35a, 151b. For more exchange of such dia-logues between Dara and the Raja, see (Ibid., 20a, 184b) where Dara in a sarcastic manner says: "this is the third time that you have come to Qandhar. If you fail this time also.....how will you show your face to the women of Hindustan"? Manucci (I, p.225) says that Dara once insulted Jai Singh by humo-rously remarking that the Raja looked like a musician". See Qanungo's Dara Shukoh, pp.53,61.

was annoyed with Shah Jahan because of the growing affluence of the newly inducted Rajput clans in the Mughal hierarchy which were overshadowing the Kachawaha chiefs who once had enjoyed the leading position among the Rajput nobles. Jai Singh had inimical relations with Raja Bithal Das Gaur, who had become a favourite of the King after his accession. This is borne out by Dara Shukoh's *nishan* in which he instructed the Raja to maintain cordial relations with Bithal Das.[1]

On the other hand, Aurangzeb conveying the news of his victory of Dharmat to Rana Raj Singh, sought his help.[2] But in the absence of the response of the Rana in the sources, one may suppose that the Rana still avoided siding with any of the rival Princes.

In the battle of Samugarh, Dara Shukoh was defeated; and he had to flee towards Delhi and then the Punjab. In this battle Rajput nobles Rup Singh,[3] Ram Singh Rathor, Shatrusal Hada, Siv Ram, Bhim and Arjun Gaur,[4] fighting on Dara Shukoh's

---

1. Dara Shukoh's *nishan* to Jai Singh, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, Old N.87, S.N.225.
2. For Aurangzeb's *nishan* (dated May 1658) to Rana Raj Singh, see *Vir Vinod*, pp.415-24.
3. *Alamgir Nama*, pp.95, 105; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II, p.265.
4. *Amal-i Salih*, III, p.300; *Alamgir Nama*, p.102; *Ma'asir-ul Umara* II, pp.251-56.

side, lost their lives. On the side of Murād and Aurangzeb, Garib Dās Sisodia was killed[1] and Subh Karan Bundela was severely injured.[2] Another Bundela chief Debi Singh was rewarded by Aurangzeb through appointment as faujdār of Bhilsa.[3]

After Samongarh, some more important Rājput nobles defected to Aurangzeb. Kunwar Ram Singh Kachawaha deserted Dara Shukoh and joined Aurangzeb.[4] Similarly, Ram Singh's father Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Rai Rai Singh Rathor of Nagor who were with Sulaiman Shukoh abandoned him and joined Aurangzeb at Mathura.[5] In reward, Aurangzeb assigned a jāgīr worth one crore dāms to the Mirza Rāja.[6] Sisodia chief Rāi Rāi Singh who after the battle of Dharmat had gone to Mewār came back and joined the service of Aurangzeb.[7] Others who joined Aurangzeb

---

1. Mirāt-ul 'Ālam, p.51; Muhta Nainsi-re-Khyāt, I, p.31.
2. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.318-19.
3. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.296-97.
4. Ibid., II, pp.251-55.
5. Ibid., pp.235-37, 569-75; Vīr Vinod, II, p.685. Manucci says that Aurangzeb did not rely on the Mirza Rāja and therefore Aurangzeb instead of assigning him any important charge, sent him to Sambhar as 'governor' of that place. Storia-do-Mogor, I, p.305.
6. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.569-75.
7. 'Ālamgīr Nāma, pp.70-71, 141-42; Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, II, pp.297-301.

included Kalyan Singh Baghela, Anirudh Gaur, Bhao Singh Hada, Kirat Singh Kachawaha, Girdhar Das Gaur, Sabal Singh Sisodia, Jagat Singh Hada, Suraj Mal and Manohar Das Gaur.[1] Thus after this decisive vâètory one by one almost all the Rajput nobles submitted to Aurangzeb.

Rajrup, chief of Mau-Nurpur in compliance with the imperial order had joined Dara Shukoh, at the time of his flight from Agra to Lahore. But later on when he saw Dara's weak position, he retired home.[2] Subsequently, when Aurangzeb succeeded in bringing the Punjab under his sway, Rajrup joined Khalilullah Khan in the Punjab. He was now promoted to 3500/3500 and appointed thanedar of Chandi, situated on the border of the principality of Srinagar-Garhwal.[3]

When Sulaiman Shukoh engaged in his campaign against Shuja came to know about his father's defeat, he wanted to join

---

1. Alamgir Nama, PP.220-21. Athar Ali has shown that before the battle of Samongar, Rana Raj Singh, Rajrup Kohistani and Man Singh of Guler were with Aurangzeb but from a close scrutiny of the sources sited by Athar Ali, one finds that these nobles joined Aurangzeb after his victory in the battle of Samongar. The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, pp.121-130.

2. Amal-i Salih, III, p.321.

3. Alamgir Nama, pp.179-199.

his father by marching through the route of Saharanpur. But Rajrup, who was the thanedar of Chandi, prevented him from doing so and forced him to retire to Srinagar where the chief Prithvi Raj extended hospitality to him.[1] He also gave his daughter in marriage to Sulaiman Shukoh.[2] In January 1656, when Prithvi Raj's dominions had been threatened by an imperial expedition, Dara Shukoh had obliged him by introducing his son Medini Ray to the King and securing him pardon.[3]

In order to prevent any chance of Raja Jaswant Singh's collaborating with Dara Shukoh, Aurangzeb summoned the Raja from Jodhpur. In response, Jaswant Singh despatched a contingent under the command of his sardar Mahesh Das.[4] Subsequently, Jaswant Singh himself joined Aurangzeb at the bank of Sutlej in Punjab[5] during the latter's pursuit of Dara Shukoh.

Aurangzeb's victory in the battle of Samongar prompted Rana Raj Singh to congratulate the victor. The Rana sent his

---

1. Alamgir Nama, pp.142-143, 178-179; Storia do Mogor, I, p.130.
2. Tarikh-i Shah Shujai, MS. ff.153b, 156a.
3. Dara Shukoh, by K.R. Qanungo, pp.135-38.
4. Hukumat-re-Bahi, pp.29-38; Muntakhab-ul Lubab, VII, p.231.
5. Alamgir Nama, p.183; Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p.5; Hukumat-re-Bahi, p.31.

son Sultan Singh and uncle Hari Singh to congratulate Aurangzeb.[1] Aurangzeb giving no chance to Dāra Shukoh to win over the Rana at any stage, promoted him from 5000/5000 to 6000/6000 + 1000 do aspa sih aspa. In accordance with his earlier promises, he assigned parganas Māndalgarh, Badnor and Giyaspur to the Rana. Moreover, Dungarpur, Banswara and Devalya whose chiefs had fought against Aurangzeb were also assigned as ghair 'amlī jāgīrs to the Rāna. In addition, two crore dāms were also granted to him in inām.[2]

Aurangzeb's pursuit of Dāra Shukoh, left Āgra open to an attack from Shuja. When Aurangzeb came to know about Shuja's move towards Āgra, he immediately decided to return. The forces of Aurangzeb and Shuja came face to face at Khajwa. Before the battle, Suraj Singh Bundela defected from Aurangzeb's camp and went to his home Orcha.[3] But two other Bundela chiefs Subh Karan and Indraman who sided with Aurangzeb distinguished themselves in the battle. Subh Karan's younger brother Prithvi Rāj succumbed to injuries.[4] Rāja Jaswant Singh who was with

---

1. Vīr Vinod, p.424.
2. Aurangzeb's farmān to Rāna Rāj Singh, dated August 16, 1658, reproduced in the Vīr Vinod, II, pp.432-38.
3. Bhim Sen, Nuskha-i Dilkushā, tr. p.16.
4. Ibid.

Aurangzeb made a secret compact with Shuja and left the battle field and hastened home.[1] Now Aurangzeb, in retaliation ordered him deposed, and the chieftainship of Jodhpur was conferred upon the Raja's nephew Rai Rai Singh.[2] He was also raised to the mansab of 4000/4000.[3] Parganas Merta, Jaitaran, Sojat, Siwana and Phalodi were confiscated from Raja Jaswant Singh and assigned to Rai Rai Singh. Muhammad Amin Khan, Mir Bakhshi was sent to seize Jodhpur from the Raja.[4]

Meanwhile Dara Shukoh, who had retired from the Punjab, had reached Gujarat via Sind. Jaswant Singh contacted and persuaded him for not going towards the Deccan and asked him to march against Aurangzeb.[5] Accordingly, Dara set out for Ajmer and on his way, he succeeded in securing the help of Rao Akhey Raj of Sirohi.[6] When Aurangzeb came to know about these developments, he decided to march to Ajmer. Prince Muhammad

---

1. Amal-i Salih, III, pp.323, 329; Hukumat-re-Bahi, pp.34-36.
2. Alamgir Nama, p.288; Hukumat-re-Bahi, pp.35-36.
3. Hukumat-re-Bahi, p.36.
4. Ibid.; Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p.17; Bernier, p.85.
5. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p.18; Alamgir Nama, p.300; Waqiat-i Alamgiri, pp.109-11. But in Hukumat-re-Bahi (p.36), it is stated that Dara Shukoh sent his son Sipihr Shukoh to Jaswant Singh for help.
6. Hukumat-re-Bahi, p.36.

Sultan and Muazzam Khan (Mir Jumla) along with such Rajput nobles as Amar Singh Chandrawat, Sujan Singh Bundela, Subh Karan Bundela, Indraman Dhandhera, Ram Singh Rajawat,[1] Kunwar Sardar Singh Sisodia[2] and Bhao Singh Hada,[3] Chatur Bhuj Chauhan[4] were left behind to pursue Shuja. The march of Aurangzeb towards Ajmer, bewildered Jaswant Singh who contacted Mirza Raja Jai Singh to arrange a reconciliation with Aurangzeb.[5] Mirza Raja secured pardon for Jaswant Singh with the condition that he would not help Dara Shukoh. Consequently, in the battle of Deorai, Jaswant Singh did not lend any support to Dara Shukoh. Now Aurangzeb countermanded his earlier order and restored Jodhpur and the title of Maharaja to Jaswant Singh.[6] In this battle, Raja Rajrup played a distinguished part on the side of Aurangzeb. Dara Shukoh and his forces settled their camps in the Aravalli ranges which appeared quite strongly protected. But Rajrup and his soldiers who were experienced in

---

1. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, 15; Alamgir Nama, 497; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 147-48, 265-66, 291-94, 317-19.
2. Raj Prakash, cited by Somani, R.V., History of Mewar, p.278, f.n. 32.
3. Waqiat-i Alamgiri, p.126; Alamgir Nama, pp.221, 231; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 305-6. He was the son of Shatrusal Hada. After Shatrusal's death in the battle of Samongar, Bhao Singh joined Aurangzeb's service with the mansab of 3000/2000 and the title of Rao.
4. Waqiat-i Alamgiri, p.126.
5. Hukumat-re-Bahi, p.37. See also Bernier, p.86.
6. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p.17; Mamuri, Tarikh-i Aurangzeb, MS. f.108a.

climbing and fighting in the hilly regions succeeded in attacking Dara's forces from the back of the mountainside. Eventually, Dara and his forces were routed and fled towards Thattah.[1] Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Bahadur Khan pursued Dara Shukoh. Near the Bolan Pass a local chief Jiwan arrested Dara Shukoh and his younger son Sipihr Shukoh and handed them over to the imperial forces.[2] Subsequently, they both were executed. Jai Singh and Bahadur Khan were renumerated with the presentation of 200 and 100 horses respectively. In addition, Jai Singh received one lakh rupees as a gift.[3]

Aurangzeb now turned towards Sulaiman Shukoh who was with Prithvi Raj in Srinagar. Aurangzeb despatched Rajrup and Kunwar Ram Singh to deal with Prithvi Raj. On persuasion by Jai Singh, Prithvi Raj surrendered Sulaiman Shukoh to the imperial forces.[4]

Thus it emerges that initially the majority of the Rajput chiefs espoused Shah Jahan's and Dara Shukoh's cause,

---

1. Alamgir Nama, p.293; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.279-81.
2. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p.26.
3. Ibid., pp.27, 28.
4. Bernier, pp.92-93; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp.279-81; Khafi Khan, Muntakhab-ul Lubab, II, pp.723, 725.

deeming it to be their obligation to the throne. Even after the battle of Dharmat, the powerful Rājput chiefs instead of joining Aurangzeb either fled to their chiefdoms or remained with Dāra Shukoh. Only a small section of the Rājput nobles who were aggrieved with the imperial authorities went over to Aurangzeb. But after the decisive battle of Sāmongar, the Rājput chiefs had no course except to submit to Aurangzeb, These moves of the Rājput chieftains were not peculiar since this was the line of conduct followed practically by all sections of the nobility.

THE MANSABS OF RAJPUT NOBLES WHO SUPPORTED SHĀH JAHĀN IN THE BATTLE OF DHARMAT

-------

SISODIA

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Raja Rai Singh s/o Bhinve | 5000/5000 | Hukumat-re-Bahi, 8. |
| 2. | Sabal Singh s/o Bagh | 2500/1000 | M.U., II, 468-69. |
| 3. | Sujan Singh s/o Suraj Mel | 2000/1000 | Hukumat-re-Bahi, 10. |
| 4. | Fateh Singh s/o Sujan Singh | 500 | Ibid. |
| 5. | Daulat Singh s/o Sujan Singh | 300 | Ibid. |
| 6. | Ram Chand s/o Sujan Singh | --- | Ibid. |
| 7. | Sunder Das s/o Gokul Das | 900/ 400 | Ibid., 12. |
| 8. | Mam Singh s/o Man Singh | 400/ 150 | Ibid., 15. |
| 9. | Biram Deo | 3000/1000 | Alamgir Nama, 95; Amal-i Salih, III, 456. |

GAUR

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Udai Bhan | 400/ 200 | Hukumat-re-Bahi, 8. |
| 2. | Hari Bhan | 300/ 200 | Ibid. |
| 3. | Hiramani, cousin of Kirpa Ram Gaur | / 40 | Ibid. |
| 4. | Parshu Ram | 100/ 35 | Ibid. |
| 5. | Raja Shiva Ram | 2500/2500 | Ibid., 9. |
| 6. | Sada Ram | 400/ 200 | Ibid. |
| 7. | Suraj Mal s/o Shiva Ram | 300/ 200 | Ibid. |
| 8. | Arjun s/o Bithal Das | 2000/1500 | Ibid.,10; Mamuri, 89b. |
| 9. | Sur Singh | 200/ 30 | Hukumat-re-Bahi, 10. |
| 10. | Bhinve s/o Bithal Das | 1000/ 500 | Ibid., 12. |
| 11. | Gerdhan Das | 2000/2000 | Alamgir Nama, 95. |

## HARA

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Mukund Singh s/o Madho Singh | 3000/2000 | Hukumat-re-Bahi, 8. |
| 2. | Jujhar Singh | 400/ 200 | Ibid. |
| 3. | Kanhi Ram | 300/ 200 | Ibid. |
| 4. | Fateh Singh | 200/ 40 | Ibid. |
| 5. | Mohan Singh s/o Madho Singh | 800/ 400 | Ibid., 13. |
| 6. | Kesri Singh s/o Madho Singh | 600/ 200 | Ibid., 14. |
| 7. | Rao Satr Sal | 4000/4000 | Dilkusha, 16a. |

## BUNDELAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Raja Sujan Singh | 2500/2500 + 500 do aspa sih aspa | Hukumat-re-Bahi, 9. |
| 2. | Indra Singh s/o Sujan Singh | 500/ 500 | Ibid. |
| 3. | Jag Dev s/o Narhar Das | 400/ 100 | Ibid. |
| 4. | Chut Rang s/o Chandraman | 200/ 100 | Ibid. |
| 5. | Parbat Singh s/o Chandraman | 150/ 50 | Ibid. |
| 6. | Raja Devi Singh s/o Bharat Sah | 2000/2000 | Ibid., 10. |

## RATHOR

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Raja Jaswant Singh | 7000/7000 +6000 do aspa sih aspa | Hukumat-re-Bahi, 10. |
| 2. | Ratan s/o Mahesh Das | 2000/2000 | Ibid.; Mamuri, 97a. |
| 3. | Fateh Singh s/o Mahesh Das | 250/ | Hukumat-re-Bahi, 10. |
| 4. | Mahesh Das s/o Suraj Mal | 1000/ 500 | Ibid., 11. |
| 5. | Jujhar Singh s/o Mahesh Das | 200/ 25 | Ibid. |

contd....

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 6. | Gordhan | 1000/ 500 | Hukumat-re-Bahi, 12. |
| 7. | Rupsi s/o Gordhan | 400/ 50 | Ibid. |
| 8. | Ratan s/o Gordhan | 200/ 25 | Ibid. |
| 9. | Saram or Ram Singh s/o Ballu | 500/ 200 | Ibid., 14. |
| 10. | Udai Singh s/o Ram Singh | 100/ 30 | Ibid. |
| 11. | Kalyan Das s/o Mahesh Das | 400 /400 | Ibid., p.15 |
| 12. | Maha Singh s/o Kesho Das | 400/ 200 | Ibid. |
| 13. | Raja Roop Singh | 4000/3000 | Amal-i Salih, III, 227; Hatim Khan, 29a; Alamgir Nama, 95, 102. |

CHANDRAWAT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rao Amar Singh s/o Hari Singh | 2000/1000 | Hatim Khan, 21a; Alamgir Nama, 65, 710; Hukumat re Bahi, 10. |
| 2. | Sujan Singh s/o Bithal Das | 300/ 200 | Hukumat-re-Bahi, 10. |
| 3. | Kalyan Das s/o Bithal Das | 200/ 45 | Ibid. |
| 4. | Madho Singh | 400 /200 | Ibid., 14. |
| 5. | Jagat Singh b/o Madho Singh | ----- | Ibid. |

KACHAWAHA

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Raja Amar Singh Narwari | 1500/1000 | Hukumat re Bahi, 11. |
| 2. | Jagat Singh s/o Amar Singh | 150/ 60 | Ibid. |
| 3. | Prithvi Singh s/o Jujhar Singh | 400/ 400 | Ibid., 18. |
| 4. | Kirat Singh | 1000/ 900 | Hatim Khan, 29b; Amal-i Salih, III, 465. |

## GHELOT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rawal Samarsi of Banswala | 1000/1000 +200 *do aspa sih aspa* | *Hukumat re Bahi*, 11. |

## CHAUHAN

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Chatrbhuj | 1000/ 600 | *Hukumat-re-Bahi*, 11. |
| 2. | Pratap Singh | 400/ 300 | *Ibid.*, 13. |
| 3. | Ballu s/o Sawant Singh | 700/ 300 | *Ibid.* |
| 4. | Tulchi Das s/o Ballu | 300/ 60 | *Ibid.* |
| 5. | Narhar Das s/o Ballu | 200/ 30 | *Ibid.* |
| 6. | Govind Das s/o Achal Das | 100/ 15 | *Ibid.* |
| 7. | Rukmand s/o Prithvi Raj | 500/ 200 | *Ibid.* |

## JHALA

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Dayal Das s/o Narhar Das | 1000/ 500 | *Hukumat re Bahi*, 12. |
| 2. | Ragho Das | 500/ 250 | *Ibid.* |
| 3. | Indrabhan | 300/ 100 | *Ibid.* |
| 4. | Jagannath s/o Narhar Das | 200/--- | *Ibid.* |
| 5. | Udai Bhan s/o Jagannath | 200/ 30 | *Ibid.* |
| 6. | Varso | 500/ 250 | *Ibid.*, 14. |

## SHAIKHAWAT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Var Singh Dev s/o Dwarka Das | 800/ 800 +200 *do aspa sih aspa* | *Hukumat re Bahi*, 12. |
| 2. | Vijay Singh s/o Dwarka Das | 300/--- | *Ibid.* |
| 3. | Jai Chand s/o Dalpat | 500/ 250 | *Ibid.* |
| 4. | Shyam Chand s/o Balbhadr | 200/ 40 | *Ibid.* |

BHADURIYA

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Maha Singh | 1000/ 800 | Hatim Khan, 29b; Alamgir Nama, 36, 240; Amal-i Salih, III, 465. |

TUNWAR

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Kishan Singh | 1000/ 500 | Hatim Khan, 21a; Alamgir Nama, 65; Amal-i Salih, III, 467. |

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Rājput chiefs who constituted a powerful class within Indian society were assigned an important place in the Mughal hierarchy by Akbar. Clearly, it was these chiefs who constituted the bulk of his Rājput nobility, since Akbar had little inducement to give ranks to Rājputs who did not have a territorial base or following or, in other words, who were not already large zamīndārs. Once admitted to the nobility, they were treated at par with the Turānī, Irānī and other sections of the nobility. This naturally generated confidence among the Rājput chiefs. From the very beginning, Akbar cemented his bonds with them by contracting matrimonial ties with many of them. This signified to many a recognition of the high dignity of the Rājputs, rather than the reverse. Rājput chiefs, on their part, played an important role in expanding Akbar's Empire in far flung areas. The Kachawāhas having earned the confidence of Akbar, enjoyed the highest position among the Rājput chiefs. Next in favour was the Rathor family of Bikaner, with Rāo Rāi Singh at its head. Perhaps they were the favourites of Akbar because they accepted the Mughal suzerainty almost voluntarily.

The majority of the Rājput chiefs was taken in the Imperial service from the ṣūba of Ajmer or Rājasthan. This was obviously to be expected since it was this ṣūba which contained the most powerful Rājput principalities, including Mewār and Mārwā-r. These principalities, big and small, had a very large number of cavalry troops, as noted by Jahāngīr, and this meant that once the chiefs were won over, the Mughals would have access to an exceptionally large reserve of armed force.

Throughout Akbar's reign, the Rājput nobles enjoyed an important position in the Mughal nobility . But at the time of Akbar's death, there was a tussle among the nobility over the issue of succession. Like the Turānī, Irānī and other sections of the nobility, Rājput chiefs were also divided between the contending candidates - Prince Jahāngīr and Prince Khusrau. Rāja Mān Singh, in league with Mirzā ʿAzīz Kokā, was in favour of Khusrau's succession, while Rām Dās Udāwat and Rāi Sāl Darbārī espoused the cause of Jahāngīr. It seems that Jahāngīr, after his accession, had adopted a policy of reserve towards the established Rājput chiefs who had opposed him, while he sought to promote the lesser chiefs who had been his supporters. Jahāngīr followed an almost similar policy in respect of the high Akbarshāhī nobles of other racial groups, trying to curtail their power by bringing into prominence his own proteges, the Jahāngīrshāhī nobles. The high favour shown to the Bundela clan,

and then thā Sisodias after tīka 1614 Mewār Settlement, suggest Jahāngīr's anxiety to favour those who were personally linked to him. This was also at the root of his insistence on deciding the succession to tīka in the chiefdoms.

The following Table assembles in compact form our information about the mansabs held by the Rājputs out of the total mansabs during the period 1605-57. There is a significant decline in the Rājput share of the total mansabs between 1605 and 1621, but thereafter it showed a slight but consistent recovery till near the close of Shāh Jahān's reign.

| S.No. | Year | Total Jama'dāmī of the Mughal Empire in dāms | Total mansabs of the Mughal nobles | Total mansabs of the Rājput nobles | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 1605 AD | 5,83,46,90,344 | 2,08,000/ 58,950 | 58,300/18,700 | 28.02/31.72 |
| 2. | 1612 AD | - - - | 3,08,200/147,550 | 66,200/24,940 | 21.44/16.9 |
| 3. | 1621 AD | 6,30,00,00,000 | 4,48,350/272,610 | 57,700/34,100 | 13.5/12.54 |
| 4. | 1637 AD | 6,57,73,57,625 | 6,33,000/441,845 | 84,350/59,780 | 13.33/13.53 |
| 5. | 1647 AD | 9,15,09,90,776 | 6,76,600/597,575 | 92,150/74,480 | 13.62/12.46 |
| 6. | 1657 AD | 9,12,24,45,846 | 8,05,700/680,145 | 1,17,150/101,280* | 14.54/14.89 |

For the jama'dāmī figures, see Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p.399 ; For the total mansabs of the Mughal nobles from 1605 to 1637 AD (except that of 1612 AD, which has been taken from the unpublished thesis of Afzal Husain, The Role of Family Groups of Nobles in Mughal Politics, Department of History, Aligarh) see, Irfan Habib, 'Mansab System, 1595-1637' PIHC, 1967.

* The total mansabs of the alive nobles during 1647 AD and 1657 AD are computed from the lists of Lāhorī's Bādshāh Nāma and Wāris' Bādshāh Nāma.

In absolute terms the *mansabs* of the Rājput chiefs continued to increase from Akbar to the close of Shāh Jahān's reign, but this rise could not keep pace with the rise of the total *mansabs* of the Mughal nobility.

This indicates that the non-Rājput nobles were recruited in large numbers after 1605. Jahāngīr's tilt towards the family members of Nūr Jahān is worth citing here. He also favoured members of the families of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī, ʻAbdullāh Khān Firuz Jang, Khān-i Jahān Lodī and Mahābat Khān. Moreover, the influx of the Deccan nobles too started from Jahāngīr's reign and their number increased under Shāh Jahān.

As far as the assignment of administrative offices is concerned, the Rājput chiefs seem to have been largely passed over during this period. None of the Rājput chiefs is known to have held governorship or *faujdārī* under Jahāngīr after Mān Singh's recall from Bengāl. But Shāh Jahān began to assign such offices to them. Even then, the Rājput chiefs could not attain the status their predecessors had already enjoyed under Akbar. On the other hand, in regard to the payment to the retainers of the Rājput chiefs, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, unlike Akbar, treated them at par with the Tūrānī and Irānī nobles. This parity might have been granted because by this time the Tūrānī and Irānī nobles were allowed to recruit the indigenous retainers in their contingents.

An important feature of the basis on which the Rājput chiefs were made part of the nobility, was the recognition of their hereditary territories as their *watan jāgīrs*. It was deemed a permanent assignment, but it carried a *jamaʻdāmī* like ordinary *jāgīrs*. The *jamaʻdāmī* of their *watan jāgīrs* was adjusted in the chiefs' pay-bills, so that unless the *jamaʻ* was nominal ( which in most cases, it was not), the chiefs did not gain monetarily by holding the *watan jāgīr*. But at the same time, it ensured the Rājput chiefs a minimum fixed *mansab* which would accord with the *jamaʻdāmī* of the *watan jāgīr*. This minimum *mansab* thus practically became hereditary. Besides these hereditary dominions, certain favourite Rājput nobles were given new *watan jāgīrs*. The first case of the creation of *watan jāgīr* can be traced back to the end of Akbar's reign. It was, on the other hand, rare for the Mughal Emperors to take away *watan jāgīrs* from the chiefs, except by way of punishment for some fault or upon rebellion. Generally, the Rājput chiefs were left free to manage the affairs of their *watan jāgīrs* as they wished. But the chiefs themselves seem to have followed the general pattern of the Mughal administration, though there were numerous local variants.

The Mughal Emperors sometimes subverted the chiefs' power by establishing direct links with their *thikānedārs* who

were taken into Imperial service as mansabdārs. These thikānadārs thus became chiefs in their own right and their thikānas became their watan jāgīrs. This process diminished the power of the big territorial chiefs. But before any major disintegration could take place in the Rājput chiefdoms, the Mughal Empire itself began to decline which offered an opportunity for the principal chief of the tribe to reassert his authority over those thikānadārs and sardārs, who had separated themselves from their traditional overlord. This can especially be seen in the subsequent history of the Āmber principality (Jaipur State). Some of the thikānadārs had, however, became so strong by now that they did not yield to their erstwhile lord. This can be seen in Mewār. The chiefs of Bundī, Kota, Dungarpur and Bānswāra who were at one period sardārs of the Sisodia chief, now headed separate principalities.

In questions of succession the Mughal Emperors normally followed the custom prevailing in the Rājput clans. It is noteworthy that after joining the Mughal service, the authority of the Paramount Power proved normally adequate to prevent those internal feuds over succession which had been so common a feature of Rājput dynastic history. This certainly gave stability to Rājput principalities, and also linked the chiefs in some kind of customary dependence to the Empire. The principalities probably also benefited economically from the jāgīrs given to the chiefs outside the watan, in lieu of

promotions given upon service. The extra revenues flowed into the home principality.

An outcome of the Mughal-Rājput polity was to establish matrimonial ties between the Imperial Family and the Rājputs. For this there had been precedants: The marriages sealed the political tie, and, as we have said, awarded some kind of special status to the Rājput clan concerned. It was considered necessary to take the bride at the time of the chief's first entry into service. The powerful Rājput clans such as the Kachawāhas of Āmber and Rāthors of Mārwār were given the privilege of fresh matrimonial ties with the Mughal ruling family. There is no basis to say that the Rājput chiefs who gave their daughters in marriage to the Mughals were deemed outcasts by their peers. The Rājput chiefs who had established such ties with the Mughals continued to receive princesses in marriage of those Rājput chiefs who had abstained from matrimonial alliances with the Mughals. Rather, it seems that the social position of the Rājput clans, who had matrimonial ties with the Mughals was considerably enhanced. There was little caste or religious bitterness that was aroused at the time by these marriages; on the other hand, they more firmly bound important Rājput clans to the Mughal Court.

The Rājput chiefs served as military commanders and obtained jāgīrs in various regions of the Mughal Empire. They established new towns

and villages in these territories. Mān Singh founded the famous city of Rāj Maḥal in Bengāl. Rāo Karan established Karanpura in Deccan. Rām Dās Kachawāha and Rāo Manohar established gardens in Punjāb. Mān Singh built a temple in Orissa and a mosque at Rāj Maḥal. Bīr Singh Deo Bundela also built a temple in Mathura. Rāo Karan made grants to the temple of Nāsik in the Deccan. The Rājput chiefs thus contributed much towards a cultural unification of the Empire in geographical terms.

The Rājputs played a significant role in the war of succession. Until the decisive battle of Sāmugarh, Rājput chiefs (except a few petty chiefs) either supported Shāh Jahān and Prince Dāra Shukoh or remained neutral. But after this battle, the Rājput chiefs, foreseeing the feeble position of Prince Dāra Shukoh, began to shift their loyalty to Aurangzeb. In this the Rājputs' attitude was not exceptionally opportunistic. Uptill the War of Succession of 1707-09, the tradition in the Mughal nobility was that the nobles supporting a defeated prince would go over to the victor without loss of life or rank. Thus once the battle of Sāmugarh proved who the successful candidate was, the Rājput chiefs by and large hastened to make their peace with him, and were, in line with the Mughal tradition, accepted by the victor with full honours.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## CONTEMPORARY, NEAR CONTEMPORARY AND LATER CONTEMPORARY SOURCES:

1. Bābur Nāma (Memoirs of Bābur), tr. A.S. Beveridge.

2. Wāqiāt-i Mushtāqī by Rizqullāh Mushtāqī, 1572, Add. 11, 633 Or. 1929.

3. Nafāis-ul Ma'āsir by Ala-ud Daulāh Qazwīnī, 1574-75, MS. BM Add. 22, 831 (Rieu, I, 404) and also Aligarh MS., Subhanullah Collection, 920/45.

4. Bihār o Bengāl men Rāja Todar Mal kī Kārguzāriān by Safdar Ali, mīr munshī of Todar Mal, 1580-81. Urdu translation by Ikram Ali, 1874; Transcript from Bankipore MS. in Research Library, Department of History, Aligarh. The original version has not been discovered so far.

5. Tārīkh-i Akbarī by Hājī Ārif Qandahārī, 1584. Edited by Muinuddin Nadwi, Azhar Ali & Imtiaz Ali Arshi, Rampur, 1962.

6. Tārīkh-i Humāyun wa Akbar by Bāyāzid Bayāt, 1587, edited by Hidayat Husain, Bib. Ind. Series, Asiatic Society of Bengal.

7. Tārīkh-i Alfī by Ahmad Thattavī and others, compiled in 1588-9, MS, BM, Or. 465.

8. Akbar Nāma by Abūl Fazl, 1594, edited by Agha Ahmad Ali, Asiatic Society of Bengal. Takmil-i Akbar Nāma: the authorship is a matter of controversy. It was compiled either by Ināyat Ullāh, Muhibb Alī or Muhammad Sālih.

9. Āin-i Akbarī by Abūl Fazl, 1594. Text edited by Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Delhi, 1856. English translation, Vol. I, by Blochmann, Calcutta, 1927 (2nd ed.). Blochmann also edited the text, Calcutta, and Vol. II, by Jarrett (2nd ed.), Calcutta, 1949.

10. Tabaqāt-i Akbarī by Nizāmuddin Ahmad, 1594. Edited by B. De, Bib. Ind. Series.

11. Muntakhāb-ut Tawārikh by Abdul Qādir Badāunī, 1596. Edited by Ahmad Alī, Kabīr al-Din Ahmad and W.N. Lees, Bib. Ind. Series.

12. Akbar Nāma by Ilahadād Faizī Sirhindī, 1601. MS. BM, Or. 169 (Rieu, i, 253).

13. Zubdat-ut Tawārīkh by Shaikh Nurul Ḥaq Dehlvī, 1605, MS. BM, Add. 10,580 (Rieu, i, 224b).

14. Risāla-i Tārīkh-i Asad Beg Qazwīnī, MS. BM, Rieu, 1227, Add. 6572.

15. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, edited by Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Ghazipur and Aligarh, 1863-4.

16. Tārīkh-i Firishta by Muḥammad Qāsim Hindu Shāh ('Firishta'), 1606-7. Text published by Nawal Kishore.

17. Tārīkh-i Khān Jahānī by Ni'matullah, 1612; edited by Imam Al-Din, Dacca, 1960.

18. Mirāt-i Sikandarī by Sikandar bin Muḥammad, 1613.

19. Tārīkh-i Shāhi by Aḥmad Yādgār, 1614; edited by Hidayat Husain, Bib. Ind. Series.

20. Tārīkh-i Ma'adan-i Akhbār-i Aḥmadī by Aḥmad bin Bahbāl. Date of compilation 1614. I.O. 121, i/46.

21. Ma'āsir-i Raḥīmī by Abdul Bāqī Nahavandī, 1616; edited by Hidayat Husain, Bib. Ind. Series.

22. Iqbāl Nāma-i Jahāngīrī, by Mutamad Khān, 1619-20. Text published by Nawal Kishore.

23. Waqāi-ul Zamān or Fatḥ Nāma-i Nur Jahān by Kāmī Shīrāzī, 1625-26, MS. Paris, Blochet, iii, 1874.

24. Anfa'al Akhbār by M. Amīn bin Daulat M., compiled in 1626-27. Rotograph (N.161) available in Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, Aligarh.

25. Ma'āsir-i Jahāngīrī, by Khwāja Kāmgar Ḥusain, 1630-31, BM MS. Catalogue, 21 B.C. 1-219.

26. Pādshāh Nāma by Amīn Qazwīnī, MS. BM, Or. 173; Add. 20, 734.

27. Pādshāh Nāma by Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhorī, ed. Maulvi Kabiruddin and Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1867-68.

28. Pādshāh Nāma by Muḥammad Wāris (continuation of Abdul Hamid Lahorī's Pādshah Nāma) BM, Add.6556, Or. 1675. Transcript in the Department of History, Aligarh. (This MS. is defective at the end, lacking the list of mansabdārs).

29. Shāh Jahān Nāma by Mirzā Moḥd. Jalāluddīn Taba Tabai. Transcript in the Department of History, Aligarh.

30. Ahwāl-i Shahzādgī-i Shāh Jahān; transcript available in the Department of History, Aligarh.

31. Bahr-ul Asrār, by Mahmūd bin Amīr ʿAlī Balkhī; ed. Riazul Islam, pub. Institute of Central and West Asian Studies, Karachi, 1980.

32. Tazkira-i Pīr Hassu Telī, MS. Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, Aligarh.

33. Tazkirat-ul Mulūk, by Rafiuddin Shirāzī; microfilm available in the Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, Aligarh

34. Tārīkh-i Taskhir-i Kāngra, MS. Department of History, Aligarh.

35. Shāh Jahān Nāma, Muhammad Sādiq Khān, Or. 174, Or. 1671.

36. Mazhar-i Shāh Jahānī by Yūsuf Mīrak, 1634; edited by Pir Hisamuddin Rashidi; pub. Sindi Adabi Board, Karachi.

37. Maktubāt-i Khān-i Jahān Muzaffar Khān wa Gwalior Nāma, Jalāl Hisārī; date of compilation: 1639 AD; MS. BM, (Rieu, iii, 837) Add. 16859.

38. Gwālior Nāma, Hirāman bin Girdhar Dās Munshī; date of compilation: 1669. (MS. Rieu, i/406, Add. 24039). The early part of this work, down to the reign of Shāh Jahān, is borrowed, without acknowledgement, from a Gwālior Nāma written in 1639 by Jalāl Hisārī.

39. Tārīkh-i Dilkushā by ʿInāyat Ullah Kambo Lāhorī, compiled between 1652 and 1671. MS. Cambridge, King's, 71.

40. Dabistān-i Mazāhib by Mohsin Fānī, 1655, Nawal Kishore, Kanpur.

41. ʿAmal-i Sālih by Muhammad Sālih Kambo, ed. G. Yazdani, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1923-46.

42. ʿĀlamgīr Nāma by Muhammad Kāzim, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1865-73.

43. Tārīkh-i Aurangzeb by Abūl Fazl Mamurī, MS. BM, Or. 1671; continuation of Sādiq Khān's Shāh Jahān Nama.

44. Khulāsat-ut Tawārīkh by Sujān Rāi Bhandārī, ed. Zafar Hasan, Delhi, 1918.

45. Nuskha-i Dilkushā by Bhim Sen, MS. BM, Or. 23.

46. Ma'āsir-i ʿĀlamgīrī by Sāqi Musta'id Khān, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1871.

47. Waqā'i Ranthambor wa Ajmer, 1678-80 AD, Asafiya Library, Hyderabad; transcript in the Department of History, Aligarh.

48. Khulāsat-us Siyāq, 1703 AD, MS. Sir Sulaiman Collection, 410/143, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh.

49. 'Adāb-i 'Ālamgīrī, MS. Abdus Salam Collection, 326/96, Azad Library, Aligarh.

50. Muntakhab-ul Lubāb by Khāfī Khān, 1732; edited by Maulvi Kabir al-din, Asiatic Society of Bengal.

51. Mirāt-i Ahmadī by 'Alī Muhammad Khān, 1748 AD; edited by Syed Nawab Ali, Baroda, 1927-28.

52. Riāz-us Salātin by Ghulām Husain Salīm, 1787-88; edited by Maulvi Abdus Salam, Bib. Ind. Series, 1890.

53. Tārīkh-i Dāudi by 'Abdullah, ed. by Shaikh Abdur Rashid, Aligarh, 1954.

54. Afsāna-i Shāhan, Rieu, i/243b, Add. 24, 409.

55. Bahāristān-i Ghaybī, tr. by Borah; pub. Narayani Handiqui Historical Institute, Gauhati, Assam, 1936.

56. Mirāt-ul 'Alam, by Mohd. Bakhtāwar Khān; ed. by Sajida Alvi; pub. Research Society of Pakistan, Lahore, 1979.

57. Ruqqāt-i 'Alamgīrī, ed. Najib Ashraf, Azamgarh.

58. Tazkirat-us Salātin Chaghta (1707-1724) by Muhammad Hādi Kāmwar Khān; ed. Muzaffar Alam, Asia Publishing House, 1980.

RECORDS AND DOCUMENTS:

1. Jaipur documents, preserved in Rājasthān State Archives, Bikāner. The collection consists of farmāns, nishāns and manshurs belonging to Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb's reign.

2. Vakīl Report and News letters sent by the agent of Rāja of Amber.

3. A Descriptive List of Farmāns, Manshurs and Nishāns addressed by the Imperial Mughals to the Princes of Rājasthan. Pub. by Directorate of Archives, Govt. of Rajasthan, Bikaner, 1962.

4. Descriptive List of The Vakil Reports addressed to the Rulers of Jaipur, 2 Vols; pub. by Rajasthan State Archives, Govt. of Rajasthan, Bikaner, March 1972.

5. A Descriptive List of the 'Arzdāshts, addressed to the Rulers of Jaipur; pub. Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, 1978.

6. Mughal Archives, Vol. I, ed. Mohd. Ziauddin A. Shakeb; pub. State Archives, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1977.

7. Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign, ed. Yusuf Husain Khan, Hyderabad, 1958.

BIOGRAPHICAL WORKS

1. Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn, Shaikh Farīd Bhakkarī; date of compilation around 1650; MS. Sulaiman Collection, Aligarh. Text edited by Moinul Haq, Pakistan Historical Society, Karachi, 1961.

2. Ma'āsir-ul Umarā, Shāh Nawāz Khān, compiled 1742-47; ed. Maulvi Ashraf Ali, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1890.

3. Tazkirat-ul Umarā, MS. BM, Add. 16, 703; microfilm available in the Research Library, History Department, Aligarh.

4. Umarā-i Hunood (Urdu), Saiyid Ahmad; pub. Aurangabad, 1932.

EUROPEAN SOURCES

1. Early Travels in India (1583-1619), ed. W. Foster, London, 1927.

2. Akbar and the Jesuits, tr. C.H. Payne, London, 1926.

3. The Empire of the Great Mogul, Joannes De Laet, tr. J.S. Hoyland and annotated by S.N. Banerjee, Bombay, 1928.

4. Jahangir and the Jesuits, tr. C.H. Payne, London, 1930.

5. Purchas his Pilgrimage, Vol. III, and IV, James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow, 1905.

6. A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of Mughal India, tr. and ed. by Brij Narain and Sri Ram Sharma, Calcutta, 1957.

7. The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe (1615-19), Sir Thomas Roe, ed. W. Foster, Oxford, 1906-27.

8. Travels in India, Jean Baptiste Tavernier, 1640-67, tr. V. Ball, London, 1889, 2nd edition revised by W. Crooke, London, 1925.

9. The Travels of Peter Mundy, Peter Mundy, pub. Hakluyt Society, Cambridge, 1907.

10. Travels in the Mogol Empire, Francois Bernier, 1656-68, tr. A. Constable, ed. Smith, London, 1916.

11. Jahangir's India, Francois Pelsaert, tr. Gayl and Moreland, Cambridge, 1925.

12. Storia do Mogor, Nicolao Manucci, 1656-1712, tr. W. Irvine, Indian Text Series, Govt. of India, London, 1907-8.

13. Bishop Heber in Northern India, ed. by Laird,M.A.; pub. Cambridge University Press, London, 1971.

14. The English Factories (1622-23 AD) and (1634-36 AD); ed. W. Foster, Oxford, 1908, 1911.

15. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XXI, pub. Today and Tomorrow's and Printers, New Delhi.

RAJASTHANI AND HINDI WORKS

1. Chandron Jitaeon Vithu Sujo-ro Kiyo, date of compilation: 1534; ed. Tessitori, Asiatic Society of Bengal.

2. Dalpat Vilas, author annonymous, 1595; ed. Rawat Saraswat; pub. Sadul Research Institute, Bikaner, 1960.

3. Qaim Khan Rasa, Jan Kavi, written during Shah Jahan's reign; ed. Puratatva Chariya, Jin Vijay Muni; pub. Rajasthan Buratatva Mandir, Jaipur, 1953.

4. Muhta Nainsi re Khyat, 3 Vols., Muhta Nainsi, compiled during the 17th century; ed. Badri Prasad Sakaria, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur, 1960.

5. Marwar re Pargana re Vigat, 2 Vols., Muhta Nainsi, compiled during the 17th century; ed. Fateh Singh, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur, 1968.

6. Banke Das re Khyat, Banke Das, written during the 18th century; ed. Puratatva Jin Vijay Muni; pub. Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jaipur, 1956.

7. Dayal Das re Khyat, compiled during the 18th century; ed. Prof. Dashrath Sharma and Prof. Jaswant Singh Khichi; Pub. Anoop Sanskrit Library, Bikaner.

8. Jaipur re Vanshavali, compiled during the 19th century, MS. preserved in Maharaja's Library, Jaipur.

9. Shikhar Vansotpati, Kaviya Gopal, written during the 19th century; pub. Nagri Pracharani Sabha, Kashi.

10. Gaj Nama, MS., compiled during the 19th century; preserved in Abhay Jain Granthalaya, Nahto ka Chowk, Bikaner.

11. Jaipur ka Sankchipt Itihas, MS. written during the 19th century; preserved in a Jain Mandir of Jaipur.

12. Vir Vinod, 4 vols., Hindi (based on Persian and Rajasthani sources), 1886.

13. Vachnika, by Khiria Jagga; ed. by Kashi Ram Shamma & Raghubir Singh; pub. Raj Kamal Prakashan, 1960.

14. Hukumat re Bahi, ed. by Satish Chandra, Raghuvir Singh and G.D. Sharma; pub. Meenakshi Prakashan, 1976.

15. Bhadani, B.L., editor, Administration of Bikaner State: Bikaner re Patta re Vigat, Bikaner, 1975.

16. Singh, Raghuvir, Ratlam ka Pratham Rajya, Raj Kamal Prakashan, New Delhi, 1950.


MODERN WORKS


1. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India (1556-1707), Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1963.

2. Athar Ali, The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, second ed., Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1970.

3. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, second ed. Allahabad, 1930.

4. Qanungo, K.R., Sher Shah and His Times, Orient Longman, Bombay, 1965.

5. Qanungo, K.R., Dara Shukoh, pub. S.C. Sarkar & Sons Ltd., Calcutta, 1952.

6. Saran, P., The Provincial Government of the Mughals (1526-1658), Allahabad, 1932.

7. Satish Chandra, Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court (1707-40), Aligarh, 1959.

8. Saksena, B.P., History of Shah Jahan of Delhi, Allahabad,1958.

9. Sharma, S.R., The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors, second ed., Bombay, 1962.

10. Alam Khan, Iqtidar, The Political Biography of a Mughal Noble - Munim Khan Khan-i Khanan (1497-1575), Orient Longman, Ranchi, 1973.

11. Hasan, Nurul, Thoughts on Agrarian Relations in Mughal India, pub. PPH., 1973.

12. Sharma, H., Jaipur ka Itihas, (Hindi edition), Jaipur.

13. Singh, Raghuvir, Purva Adhunik Rajasthan, pub. Rajasthan Vidya Peeth, Udaipur, 1951.

14. Tod James, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, 2 Vols., second edition, New Delhi, 1971.

15. Mujeeb, M., The Indian Muslims; pub. Allen and Unwin, London, 1967.

16. Sarkar, J.N., The History of Bengal; pub. University of Dacca, Dacca, 1948.

17. Tripathi, R.P., Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire; pub. Central Book Depot., Allahabad, 1956.

18. Prasad, R.N., Raja Man Singh of Amber; pub. The World Press Private Ltd., Calcutta, 1966.

19. Ray, H.C., The Dynastic History of Northern India; pub. Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Delhi, 1973.

20. Sharma, M.L., History of the Jaipur State; pub. The Rajasthan Institute of Historical Research, Jaipur, 1969.

21. Desai, Z.U. (compiler), Published Muslim Inscriptions of Rajasthan; pub. The Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Rajasthan, Jaipur, 1971.

22. Siddiqi, Iqtidar Husain, Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India; pub. Three Men Publishing House, Aligarh, 1969.

23. Moreland, W.H., The Agrarian System of Moslem India; pub. Allahabad Central Book Depot., 1929.

24. Azad, Maulana M. Husain, Darbar-i Akbari (Akbari Darbar, Hindi edition), Nagari Pracharini Sabha, 1967.

25. Goody Jack, Comparative Studies in Kinship; pub. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1969.

26. Roy, M.L., The Din-i Ilahi; pub. University of Calcutta, 1941.

27. Malik, Zahiruddin, A Mughal Statesman of the Eighteenth Century + Khan-i Dauran (1719-1739); pub. Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, Aligarh (Asia Publishing House) Bombay, 1973.

28. Irvin, W., The Army of the Indian Mughals; pub. Asia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1962.

29. Sharma, G.N., Marwar and the Mughal Emperors; pub. Shiv Lal Agarwal & Co., Agra, 1962.

30. Erskine, K.G., Rajputana Gazetteer; pub. in 1879.

31. Sharma, G.D., Rajput Polity, Manohar Book Service, 1977.

32. Bhatnagar, V.S., Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh, Delhi, 1974.

33. Khan, Refaqat Ali, The Kachawahas under Akbar and Jahangir; pub. Kitab Publishing House, New Delhi, 1976.

34. Somani, History of Mewar; Kitab Mahal, Jaipur, 1976.

35. Ranavat, Shah Jahan ke Hindu Mansabdar (Hindi), Hindi Sahitya Mandir, Jaipur, 1973.

36. Hutchison, History of the Punjab Hill States, Lahore, 1933.

37. Atkinson, Edwin T., History of Kumaun Hills; Cosmo Pub., Delhi, 1974.

38. Khan, A.R., Chieftains in the Mughal Empire; pub. Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1977.

39. Sharma, G.C., Administrative System of The Rajputs, Rajesh Publications, New Delhi, 1979.

40. Ibbetson, Punjab Castes, Lahore, 1916.

41. Hallissey, Robert C., The Rajput Rebellion Against Aurangzeb, pub. University of Missouri Press, Columbia & London, 1977.

42. Tirmizi, S.A.I., Edicts from the Mughal Harem; pub. Idarah-i Adabiyat, Delhi, 1979.

43. B.N. Goswamy and J.S. Grewal, The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar, Simla, 1967.

44. J.S. Grewal, Miscellaneous Articles; pub. Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1974.

45. V.S. Bhargava, Marwar and the Mughal Emperors (AD 1526 - 1748), Delhi, 1966.

46. G.N. Sharma, Mewar and the Mughal Emperors, Agra, 1962.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

1. Chandra, Satish, 'Jizya and the State in India', Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient, 1969, Leyden.

2. Chandra, Satish, 'Some Religious Grants of Aurangzeb to Maths in the State of Marwar', PIHC, Jabalpur, 1970.

3. Chandra, Satish, 'A Few Documents pertaining to zamindari from Thikana Records in the former Jaipur State', PIHC, Patiala, 1967.

4. Hasan, Nurul, 'Zamindar under the Mughals', Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History, pub. University of Wisconsin, 1969.

5. Alam Khan, Iqtidar, 'The Nobility under Akbar and the Development of His Religious Policy, 1560-80', Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, 1968.

6. Ali, M. Athar, 'Religion and Medieval Indian Politics', paper presented at a Seminar on Historical Models in the Study of Tradition and Change in India, IIAS, Simla, 1969.

7. Goetz, H., 'The Policy of the Grand Mughals vis-a-vis Rajput States', Indian Culture, XIV, Calcutta, 1948.

8. Blochmann, 'Kooch Bihar, Koch Hajo and Assam in the 16th and 17th centuries', Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1872.

9. Husain, Afzal, 'The Family of Shaikh Salim Chishti', Medieval India - A Miscellany, Vol. II, pub. Asia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1972.

10. Habib, Irfan, 'The Family of Nur Jahan during Jahangir's Reign', Medieval India - A Miscellany, Vol. I, Asia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1969.

11. Khan, Refaqat Ali, 'A Note on Jahangir and the Rajputs, 1605-12', Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 1960.

12. Gupta, S.P., 'The Expansion of the Kachawaha Territory in Mughal Times', Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 1965.

13. Alam Khan, Iqtidar, 'Note on the Chronology of Early Moves of Humayun', Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 1972.

14. Singh, M.P., 'Akbar's Resumption of Jagir, 1575 - A Re-examination', Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 1966.

15. Alavi, R.A., 'New Light on Mughal Cavalry', Medieval India - A Miscellany, Vol. II, Asia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1972.

16. Ali, M. Athar, 'Religious Issue in the War of Succession', Medieval India Quarterly, Vol. V , 1963.

17. Ali, M. Athar, 'Causes of the Rathor Rebellion of 1679', PIHC, Delhi, 1961.

18. G.D. Sharma, 'Marwar war as depicted in Rajasthani sources (1678-79 AD)', Journal of Indian History, Vol. 43, 1975.

19. Husain, Afzal, 'Marriages among Mughal Nobles - An Index of Status and Aristocratic Integration', PIHC, 1972.

20. Sharma, G.D., 'Concept of Kinship and the Marwar Nobility during the 16th century', PIHC, Aligarh, 1975.

21. Gupta, S.P., 'The jagir system during the evolution of Jaipur State', PIHC, 1974.

22. W.H. Moreland, 'Rank (mansab) in the Mughal State Services', Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1936.

23. Irfan Habib, 'Mansabsystem, 1595-1637', PIHC, Patiala, 1967.

24. Irfan Habib, 'Zamindars in the Ain-i Akbari', PIHC, 1965.

25. Shireen Moosvi, 'Share of the Nobility in the Revenues of Akbar's Empire, 1595-96', The Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol. XVII, N.3, 1981.

26. Trivedi, K.K., 'The Rajput Clans in the Mughal Nobility - The Bundela Case', Bhubaneswar, 1977.

27. Trivedi, K.K., 'Non-Ruling Rajput Families in the Mughal Nobility in suba Agra', PIHC, 1978.

28. S.R. Sharma, 'The Founder of Benares Raj', Studies in Medieval Indian History, Sholapur, 1956.

29. Sunita Budhwar, 'Assignments of jagir in Rajputana', PIHC, Jadavpur, 1974.

30. Sunita Budhwar, 'The Qayam Khani Shaikhzada Family of Fatehpur Jhunjnu', PIHC, Hyderabad, 1978.